TAMILS ABROAD NON-ASIAN COUNTRIES

S. NAGARAJAN

Eighth World Tamil Conference
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TAMIL UNIVERSITY, THANJAVUR

TAMILS ABROAD: NON - ASIAN COUNTRIES

(AMERICA, EUROPE, AFRICA, INDIAN OCEAN AND PACIFIC OCEAN COUNTRIES)

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PREFACE

The Tamil University is a child of the Fifth World Tamil Conference conducted at Madurai in the year 1981. It was established on the 15th of September in the same year at Thanjavur. During the past thirteen years, it has established itself as a Centre for Tamil Research the world over. Native speakers of Tamil are spread over more than seventy countries. One of the aims of the Tamil University is to fulfil the dreams and the nostalgic longings of the 130 million Tamils living in different parts of the world.

The Eighth International Conference seminar of Tamil Studies is scheduled to be conducted in the Tamil University Thanjavur, during January 1-5-1995. The Government of Tamil Nadu has generously made financial allocations for various useful academic activities in the University, as well as for substantial civic improvements for the town as a whole, of permanent value and utility. One such is the creation of revolving fund in the Tamil University to the

tune of Rupees 10 lakhs. This is to be utilised for bringing out a number of publications needed by the Tamil people all over the world.

A number of manuscripts, all of them products of research by scholars and academics, have been waiting for the propitious time to see the light of the day in the form of a printed book. The book in your hand is one such publication intended for the delectation of the general Tamil reader, and for use and reference by the Tamil cognoscenti.

I hope readers may find this book useful in the related field.

Thanjavur }
12—12—94 }

Dr. Avvai Natarajan

Acknowledgement

A sea has rivers, rain drops, melting Icebergs and blossoming natural springs: many trees, many fruits: Likewise several documents, Facts from scholars relating to this pioneering study and this Author is deeply grateful to each one of them.

No fertile soil, no fruit. My effort is a blessed fruit of Tamil University: and I express my heartfelt thanks to our eminent Vice-Chancellor Dr. Avvai Natarajan for his belssings Dr T. Padmanabhan, Director, Tamil University Library, Professor K. Rangan, Former Registrar, Dr. Abdul Razak, Registrar, Tamil University have also shaped my endeavours and my sincere thanks to them. Mr. R. Subbarayalu, Deputy Registrar's untiring Vigil, especially during the printing season, deserve special thanks. Amutha Achagam, Chidambaram also should be thanked.

Shortcomings, if any, are the sole responsibility, of this writer.

AUTHOR.

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INTRODUCTION

We have evidence of Tamils' contact with the Romans and even Americans from the earliest period. But we don't have memories of Tamil settlements in these countries during the ancient period. Scholars also infer that the imperial Cholas of the later days must have travelled as far as Mexico. However on the basis of dependable evidence we can say that large scale Tamil migration to African. West-Indian Ocean islands and Pacific islands began to take place only in the 19th century. Likewise soon after India's independence, more than forty five year s ago, some Tamil elites began to migrate to the Western countries, especially to the USA-a part of the brain-drain pattern of the developing countries. Among the non Asian countries we find Tamil settlements in South Africa, Mauritius, Seychelles, Reunion, Guyana, Martinique, Guadaloupe, USA. Australia, Newzealand, Britain, France, Germany and in Fiji. In other non-Asian countries the number of Tamils are comparatively less. Hence Tamil culture are comparatively well known in many countries of the contemporary world.

Identity of Tamils

Tamils are known as Tamils all over the world because they have a well defined specific identity, which distinguishes them from other peoples of India and the rest of the world. From time immemorial they have lived in a well defined geographical area-from Venkata hills to Kanyakumari and hence have a motherland. Secondly all of these Tamils racially belong to Dravidian race and all of them living in Tamilnadu especially speak Tamil language. In addition to these they have their own specific accent, food,

music, folk - ways, dance, drama, marriage and other functions, respective caste oriented traditions, special festival traditions, temple traditions etc. But as historical events unfolded, Tamil tradition acquired a cosmopolitian stature and hence a Tamil may not only be a Tamil Hindu, but also a Tamil Buddhist, a Tamil Jain, a Tamil Muslim· a TamilChristian, even on atheist etc. The totality of all these typical Tamil feelings based an Tamil ethos could be thus described as Tamil identity.

Tamils have also since the ancient period another cultural identity. They are always also known as Indians. This is because the Tamils, especially a majority of the Tamils who are Hindus, have common cultural traditions especially temple traditions, Ramayana. Mahabharata epic traditions, Ram Navami, Krishna Jayanti, Deepavali, Navaratri common festival traditions etc. with the other Indian Hindus. And since the 19th century Tamils have common political traditions with other parts of India-common freedom struggle heritage and common independent India heritage. Hence today emotionally Tamils, at all India level are primarily Indians.

Tamils Abroad - Identity

Tamils abroad are today, and even to a large extent in the past, considered primarily as Indians. They are more popularly known as overseas Indians rather than overseas Tamils, even though as noticed earlier, primarily Tamils are a sub-national group with a distinct culture and tradition in India.

However Tamils abroad do not always fit in with the definition of identity of Tamils attempted earlier. Because

many of them, except in Southeast Asia, do not have the Tamil language and to a certain extent Tamil culture identity, as explained below.

1. Tamils abroad certainly consider Tamilnadu as their ancestral homeland.

2. Invariably they have two cultures contact and hence are not sharing same feelings towards Tamil culture like the native Tamil inhabitants. (The word native is used to indicate indigenous inhabitants). They could be described as symbols of cultural pluralism.

3. In addition overseas Tamils could be described as People who just want to move around. Usually they do not have attachement ie, total involvement with Tamilnadu. Patriotism - the idea of nation, and of people behind a line, behind a political identity - has no longer permanent enduring value - This may be an exaggerated opinion, but still this viewpoint mirrors to a certain extent a majority of the overseas Tamils sentiments. They have reverential nostalgia rather than any vigorous devotion.

4. Among the Tamils abroad only the Sri Lankan Malaysian and Singaporean Tamils have preserved Tamil traditions and to a large extent Tamil language. And even these Tamils have acquired specific local attributes which to a certain extent distinguished them from the Tamils of Tamilnadu.

5 Among the other overseas Tamils, the Tamils of South Africa, Mauritius, Reunion, Seychelles, Indonesia, especially the younger generation Tamils of Fiji suffer to a limited extent from distinct Tamil language loss and Tamil culture loss. But these Tamils more or less prserve Tamil ethnic identity. We can add to this list the second/third generation Tamils of USA and other western countries, who certainly to a large extent suffer from Tamil language loss.

6. The Caribbean Tamils some Indonesian, Some Fijian Tamils suffer to a very large extent Tamil language loss, Tamil culture loss and to a limited extent the loss of Tamil ethnic identity.

Thus except for the Tamils of Malaysia, Singapore and Sri Lanka, other overseas Tamil do not always speak Tamil language-one of the important characteristics for defining native Tamils' identity

Reasons For Language, Culture Loss.

Tamil language loss and Tamil culture loss may have resulted due to the distance between these countries where these loss have occured and Tamilnadu. Because of long distance Tamil migrants of these countries were not able to maintain continuous contact with Tamilnadu. In contrast Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Singapore preserved intact Tamil culture and Tamil language because they were nearer to Tamilnadu. Further these countries which were nearer to Tamilnadu had close contacts with Tamilnadu since the ancient period and were aware of the superiority of Tamil

culture. These countries themselves were influenced by Indian culture from time immemorial and were known together as 'Greater India' or 'Farther India, Hence they were not in a position to impose their local culture on the immigrant Tamils in these neighbouring countries. In contrast countries like South Africa, Mauritius, Caribbean islands where the culture loss and language loss occured, did not have such an image of a superior culture about Tamilnadu. This was because probably Tamilnadu did not have continuous chain migration contact with these Countries since the ancient period. Hence the domiciled Tamils, of these distant lands, who were in a minority without continuous contact with Tamilnadu, were compelled to learn local culture and language ways and without which they were not in a position to lead their everyday life satisfactorily. This kind of a situation created the milieux of the deflowering process of Tamil language and Tamil culture in these distant lands. Such situational psychology encouraged the British and French colonial authorities of these countries to impose much more easily their values on these immigrants than in Sri Lanka, Malaysia or in Singapore. Hence geographical distance between Tamilnadu and the domiciled alien territory determined to a certain extent the language and culture loss.

In addition to geographical reasons. another vital factor that determined overseas Tamil immigrants of the west attitude towards Tamil language and Tamil culture is their aceptance of the superiority of the western, especially of the British, French and American culture. Motivated by career advancement motives in this western environment, they passively accept the language and cultu re loss, which have begun to surface in these countries.

Tamil Tradition Too Kept Alive

Inspite of such cross-cultural developments relating to Tamil culture, still, in almost all these foreign countries, where Tamil migrants have settled permanently, some kind of Tamil culture and tradition is always kept alive with self-respect. In fact during the colonial period this cultural pride and self-respect of the overseas Tamils was responsible for keeping away the missionaries who went along with the British. Only in the Caribbean countries, to a certain extent, these missionaries were successful in converting the Tamils to Christianity. Indian freedom struggle and independant India's prestige have also inspired these overseas Tamils to hold on with love to their self-respect and esteem for Tamil culture.

Hence, inspite of noticeable culture loss in distant lands, almost all overseas Tamils are united together by their deep attachment to Tamil temple tradition, especially to Mari-amman and Murugan, for whom they have deep reverence and devotion.

Another important factor which unites all overseas Tamils is more or less their common ethnic identity.

An overseas Tamil today may consider English or Creole or Hindi or Bahasa Indonesia or some Caribbean language as equivalent to his mother tongue, still he has an awareness, an irresistible feeling that he is a Tamil, that he has a common ancestral home, a common culture and tradition, a common Tamil Personality-which alone shapes his Tamil identity. Such sentiments spring up intheminds of theTamil who live in the midst of other ethnic groups. For example in

South Africa, a South African Tamil, even though he is to a certain extent westernised and speaks English at home, still do not feel at home with the whites or coloreds or Negroes or other racial groups of South Africa. In the midst of such disturbing emotional milieux, an overseas Tamil spontaneously clings to his Tamil identity consciousness. And these experiences inspire him to relearn Tamil language and to recapture Tamil culture lost. This is precisely the reason which has urged the overseas Tamils, especially from South Africa, Mauritius and Fiji to maintain contact with Tamil University, Thanjavur, and Tamilnadu Government.

European Scholars And Overseas Tamil Personality

Emotional involvement with a particular culture also develops because of one's association with that culture, Scholars who develop keen interest in studying foreign languages and foreign cultures develop such emotional attitudes. For example, the European Scholars and missionaries during the European period of colonisation, inspite of their intitial missionary zeal, developed later on some kind of emotional attachment to Tamil language, literature and even culture, to which some of them also contributed significantly. And the Tamil language that they spoke and wrote was to a certain extent different from the Tamil of the Tamils and hence Tamil language began to develop a multi-cultural outlook and became broad based; which also contributed to the development of overseas Tamil personality. And through these foreign Scholars, a knowledge about Tamil language, literature, and culture spread to distant lands and as a result overseas Tamil Personality acquired new dimensions. Therefore this Study attempts also to evaluate these contributions of foreigners in order to mirror the growth of the Tamil Personality in foreign countries, which is a necessary part of the overall make up of the Tamils abroad.

International Personality

International personality of Tamils abroad not only includes these contributions of the foreign Scholars but also the achievements of our ancestors who migrated to distant lands carrying their precious Tamil culture which they spread with zeal. However Tamil culture, inspite of its specific characteristics, has certain common Indian characteristics. Because of this Indian Personality of the Tamil culture it is not always easy to specify Tamil cultural traits alone, while discussing Tamil cultural influence especially in Southeast Asia during the precolonial period.

It is this distinct Tamil ethos, this singular Tamil Personality, a composite of its wondereful language and literature developed also by foreign Scholars and missionaries, its social, ethical, cultural and religious traditions and practices, still being preserved and followed in the lands beyond Tamilnadu, that is sought to be studied in depth in this work.

Determinants of Tamil Migration to Non-Asian Countries:-

Very little is known of Tamilnadu's contact with Europe, America, Africa, West Indian ocean islands and Pacific ocean islands. That dose not mean contacts did not exist, Indirect evidences indicate that probably there was contact mainly through traders. These traders may have propagated Tamil culture in these distant Countries.

However real migration of the Tamils to these non Asian Countries began probably only in the 18th century and especially in the 19th century when the Tamils migrated to Demerara (British Guiana), French Guiana, Jamaica, Mauritius, Fiji, South Africa, Reunion, Guadaloupe, Martinique But emigration to French Guiana stopped in 1876, the climate and gold washing industry being both considered seriously prejudicial to emigrants health The Indian Government stopped emigration to Reunion in 1882 because of the illtreament of the immigrants. However from the French Indian colonies in Tamilnadu the Tamils continued to migrate. The stimulators may have been mainly economic but really speaking it was a result of so many factors comprising of social, cultural, political and also religious character of the Country in those times. because the down trodden and untouchables found an emancipation from this type of slavery which prevailed mostly in the Tamil speaking area of the Country. People emigrated for "food and freedom", worship including "freedom of worship" For political reasons also people emigrated. They went to places that were sparsely populated or lacked unskilled labour.

In fact in the 19th century Tamilnadu's emigration reached startling heights. People who can find no means of support in rural areas formed the core of the Tamil migrants. There were other push factors: landlords and money lenders, decline

of rural industries, frequent visitation of famines (and political tyranny in the areas of the great revolt of 1857).There was one powerful pull factor namely the availability of job opportunities in plenty in the British Colonies after the abolition of slavery. Therefore it may be said that both push and pull factors interacted in the emigration of Indian labour in the 19th century. From the Madras Presidency mostly Pariahs or untouchables and a considerables number of sudras and a few muslims emigrated. The emigrants from Tamil districts were mostly agricutural labourers (K. Nambi Arooran: 1983:8-9)

Some Basic Factors of Emigration: Abolition of Slavery

The abolition of slavery by Britain in Her Empire, created a vacuum in British plantations in the tropical and the subtorpical colonies in the realm of labour force. Sufficient native labour was not available for the developing of plantations and the substitutions by white labour was out of the question, because of the unsuitable climate and heavy expenditure involved. As a result great demand arose for a regular supply of agricultural labour to fill that vaccum. The worst hit were the Sugar plantations in the West Indies, British Guyana, Natal, Mauritius, and Fiji and the abolition of slavery threatened the very existence of the sugar industries (P.P. Pillay : 20)

A sugar plantation needs the continuous availability of a large labour force for day-to-day work. Even before the abolition of slavery, the slave trade was abolished throughout the British Empire in 1807. Since then a long period of crisis began in all the sugar planations dependent on slave labour. The sugar economy in these Colonies was based on two pillars namely slave abour and protection through legislation (Emigration : 5).

Thus the abolition of slavery in the British Empire may be said to be the first and foremost factor in encouraging Tamil migration. The scarcity of labour after the termination of slavery. the demanding of an excessively high rate of wages by the liberated slaves, the fall in the quality and quanity of the labour of the freed slaves, the preference of planters to Tamil and other Indian labour because of their clean habits and quiet and docile disposition and the ready labour market in Tamilnadu and other parts of India which promised a steady supply of useful and willing labourers that too voiceles non-union labourers were the other subsidiary Factors (Nambi Arooran : 1983 : 13)

Social oppression

The self supporting village units in Tamilnadu helped the development of a caste system based on hereditary occupation. Below the landholding class and subject to its authority were the various artisan and menial classes, who economically and socially were very much dependent on the dominant classes who owned the land and controlled its allotment. These castes were more or less servile and were paid by a share of the produce of the soil or more rarely by fixed allowances in kind, cash payments being rare (S. Manickam : 1982 : 1-2).

These servile classes ekedout a living by cultivation but had no right in the soil, and custom prohibited them to change their abode without the consent of the landlords. Therefore the duties and remuneration of each group fixed by customs and caste rules, strictly forbade a man to enter into competition with another or the same caste (K. Nambi Arooran : 1983 : 13).

The *'Pariahs'* or the untouchables were a kind of slaves by whom alone the cultivation of a great part of the Madras Presidency was carried on. Such feudal serfs were

found in larger numbers in the districts of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Chingleput and South Arcot, where landed *mirasi* flourished unchecked for generations than in any other part of the Tamil country (S. Manickam : 1982 : 6-7).

There was a regular trade in slaves, though not a very large scale and both Indians and Europeans were involved in this business. The purchase price of slave is "four to fifteen rupees for a boy, sixteent to twenty four rupees for a woman, twenty four to one hundred and sixty rupees for an adult man" (R.C. Majumdar : 1981 : 279). According to Francis Buchanan there were nearly 3 million slaves in the Madras Presidency out of a totol population estimated at 15 million (Emigration : 46). The Magistrate of Tinnevely reported that the number of slaves in the district alone amounts to about 324,000 in 1821-23 (Ibid). And these slaves were harshly treated and were given severest punishment even for minor offences.

Hence it is not surprising to find these slaves "in the last stage of poverty fell in the trap of lucrative proposals of the agents. Thus the offer of better prospects allowed a number of the labouring population to migrate. If some of the emigrant labourers after acquiring comparatively large fortunes had returned home after an emigration of a few years, this undoubtedly went a long way to tempt many of their kith and kin to emigrate shaking off their feudal tentacles. Besides, the methods adopted by recruiting agents, particularly their habit of persuading in a convincing way, were no less responsible for the emigration of a large number of agricultural labourers. Therefore the causes of emigration of the lower caste deople of Tamil Hindu society in the settled areas were

mainly feudal and social oppression which left them almost paupers. The agents fully exploited the economic and social-degradation of the downtrodden people to recruit a large number of emigrants from their ranks. S. Manickam would even say that emigration was "a great teacher of self-respect and self reliance" (K. Nambi Arooran : 1983 : 13-15)

Economic exploitation by the landlords and moneylenders

In the Madras Presidency instead of creating intermediaries for collecting rent from the tillers, the British Government dealt directly with the individual peasants on the land with the intention of extracting more revenue than the Zamindari system. The Government share was about half of the net value of the crop. The rigid system of revenue collections often forced the ryot into the clutches of the money lender. Besides the Government itself became a big Zamindar and the cultivator was left at the mercy of its officers (R. Sathianatha Iyer : 1952 : 319).

The condition of the peasants was deteriorating in the recruiting areas of both parts of India due to the oppression of the landlords or due to heavy rent demanded by the Government. As a result, a considerable number of peasants were forced to be either landless or lose a greater part of their holdings to meet exorbitant rent and other levies (Nambi Arooran : 1983 : 16).

The new land rent revenue system introduced the monetary rent. As a result a greater part of the ryots in the recruiting areas were to a greater extent, indebted either to moneylenders or the landlords to meet rack-rents and other cesses or for seed to meet the Vagaries of nature. By calculating dues as compound interests, the

money lenders demanded a huge sum, sometimes many times more than the original sum borrowed from the lender. The unfortunate peasants generally could not escape from the clutches of the money lenders. Transfer of land in this manner to meet the money borrowed plus interest to the moneylender was rampant in the rural areas (Ibid. : 17).

The growth of money lending business was the product of the new agrarian relationship introduced by the Britishers. In South India the money lending system flourished under the ryotwari syetem. In Tanjore and other recruiting districts, hundreds of lower class cultivators were bound to serve under *Mirasidars* (land holders) for debt or other reasons. An official of the Madras Presidency described the pathetic condition of the Madras Ryot in 1853 in the following words:

> "he lives hand to mouth, he really sees money except that obtained from the Chetty (money lenders) to pay his kist (instalment of government revenue). His dwelling is a hut of mud walls and thatched roof ... and still destitute, if possible, of anything that can be called furniture. His food and that of his family is partly their porridge made of the meal of grain boiled in water and partly boiled rice with a little condiment ..."
>
> (Emigration, : 53-54)

Thus the condition of the agricultural labourers was pathetic. Throughout their lives they were unable to save a single pie. Work as as an agricultural labourer was also periodic. An agricultural labourer could sell his labour power only during the period of cultivation. The village industries which provided part time work to a great number of peasants at their off-time was declining. Therefore it is not surprising to note that another major cause of emigration was the poverty of the peasantry (Ibid.)

Decline of trade and industry

The Indian cotton industry was hard hit by the loss of the English market due to the prohibition since the beginning of the 18th century, of the import of Indian calicoes and silk, and by the discouragement of the East India Company of the manufacture of cloth goods of high counts and silk fabrics in India. The pathetic condition of the weavers of the Madras Presidency as a result of the oppressive policies adopted by the East India Company, can be understood by the following observation made in 1816 by Abbe Dubbis who spent many years as a missionary:

> This revolution (the invention of industrial development in England) threatens to ruin India completely. Just before returning to Europe I travelled through some of the manufacturing districts and nothing could equal the state of desolation prevailing in them. All the work rooms were closed and hundreds of thousand of the inhabitants composing the weaver caste were dying

of hunger; for through the prejudices of the country they could not adopt another profession without dishonoring themselves (R.C. Majumdar: 1981: 770,778-779).

Further the Charter Acts of 1813 and 1833 put an end to the monopoly of East India Company in Indian trade and paved the way for the entry of all private British capital and enterprises to exploit uuhindered without the license system the resources of India Including Tamilnadu. The political subjugation of India not only led to the strangulation of India's European trade, but at home she was left completely at the mercy of English merchants who dumped British cotton piece goods without payment of any duty. The displacement of Indian shipping by the British also led to the loss of her near markets in Africa, Arabia, Persia, Indian Archipelago and further East that had for centuries depended upon her handloom cloth. Free trade and refusal to levy protective duties against machine made goods led to the wholesale destruction of Indian manufacturers and ruined them. Hundreds of weavers, spinners, tanners, smelters smiths and other artisans were thrown out of employment. Hence the agricultural labourers whose income depended on periodic labour in the fields as well as on the spinning or the like during lay out period to supplement their meagre income, which were now closed to them due to these new developments, were facing almost starvation or at best wages at subsistence level only. This development created unutilised poverty striken labour force, which also became a prime cause for emigration. (Ibid : 779, 794, 414).

Famine as a Push Factor

Tamilnadu and other parts of India were often subjected to horrors and devastations of famine. Natural causes such as failure of monsoon rains, draughts, floods. hail storms, crop diseases and locusts were mainly responsible for the outbreak of famines. Moreover other factors such as official apathy, heavy burden of taxation, unfair land revenue policy and general poverty of the masses were also instrumental in aggravating the freightful sufferings of the people. The persons mainly affected by famines were landless labourers who invariably lived from hand to mouth and on the advent of the famine were deprived at once of the means of employment on which they chiefly depended. Between 1858 and 1900 more than 20 famines broke out, which were known as the Orissa famine because effects were most dreadful in Orissa. It affected parts of the east coast from Calcutta to Madras. During this famine "scarcity and high prices of food drove large number of men with their families from their homes and the recruiters taking advantages of the necessity, had sent such people down in large numbers to Calcutta" (K. Nambi Arooran: 1983 : 20-21)

It is a fact that the series of famines which occured in India in the 19th century since the 1860's decreased the pressure of population to some extent due to the resultant loss of life. But at the same time famines resulted in the further enslavement of the peasants to the landlords or money lenders, eviction and pauperisation. When famine breaks out in Indian villages, it is not only the land that is mortgaged or sold, the cattle and other movable properties are also disposed of and when these resources are exhausted, the people usually desert their village in search

of employment and food. Therefore it is evident why the recruitment of colonial emigrants was high during the years of scarcity and famines. The pattern is the same both in north and south India during the famine years. For example the number of emigrants from the Madras Presidency during the famine years 1876-77, 1877-78 and 1878-79 recorded an all time high (see the chart given below) (Ibid)

Countries supplied by total Emigration from Madras Presidency

Serial Number	Countries	1874-75	1875-76	1876-77	1877-78	1878-79	1879-80	1880-81	1881-82	1882-83	1883-84
	To										
1.	Mauritius and Bourbon (Reunion)	5,844	2,507	2,525	3,697	3,697	,548	3,192	996	2,598	2,322
2.	Ceylon	17,227	87,509	184919	99 146	99,146	63,344	43,292	46,594	45,055	35,292
3.	British Burmah	2, 64	3,118	2,628	7,337	7,377	10,377	6,682	8,020	22,075	12,650
4.	West Indies	3,043	908	2,881	105	105	3,147	2,733	640	796	931
5.	Other places	3,614	4,216	–	6,863	–	4,970	5,284	–	6	–
6.	Natal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1,763	1,358	1,532
7.	Guadaloupe	–	–	4,993	–	6,863	–	–	322	671	784
8.	Sylhet and Cachar	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	206	–
9.	Akyab	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	113	–
10.	Demerara	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	93	150
11.	Martinique	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	536	261	368
12.	Straits Settlements	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1,074	1,759	1,803
13.	Trinidad	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	65
14.	Surinam	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	204
	Total	32,692	98,258	197,946	117,148	117,148	88,386	61,183	59,945	74,991	56,101

Source : TNA. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 507.

Therefore it is clearly evident that during the years of famine colonial emigration was heavy. When there was a bumper or sufficient harvest as a result of good monsoon rains, it was very difficult for the agents to enroll sufficient number of women emigrants. It is quite correct to assume that the people "will not quit their villages so long as they have a sufficiency in their own country" (Ibid).

The returned emigrants with handsome fortunes could induce others to follow in their footsteps. At least a knowledge of their fortunes was sufficient in itself to encourage emigration among the relatives and friends who were eking out a hand to mouth existence. The returned emigrants in that district frequently returned again to the colony taking with them numerous friends and relatives.

Year	No. of old emigrants returning to Mauritius	No.of few labourers collected by old emigrants
1858	810	14,702
1859	873	10,393
1860	135	1,811

(Ibid).

It appears, therefore that the natural desire of improving their conditions was the motive which induced many adventurous people to emigrate, but with a mind to return whenever they could (Ibid).

An incidental cause of emigration was the great revolt of 1857. A spirit of adventure was another factor, particularly when emigration gained momentum.

There had been occasions when there were lulls in the flow of emigrants. Disillusionment and frustration on the part of the migrants and non recognition and ill treatment meted out to them from the receiving nations etc have been the causes for such drops in the flow. For example exactions, injustice were common experience of these plantation labourers. Some were as a result going to their graves, some were violated in many ways and they merely became plantation coffins, bringing to our mind the sharpest image of the genocide of the 20th century. To others who bore this, indentured labour was merely poor man's alternative to gas chamber. Political parties like Congress and poets like Bharati have spoken about the miseries of the Indian emigrants which must have also contributed to the lull in the flow of emigrants.

However this miserable status changed considerably in recent decade P.R S. Mani, Former Indian Ambassador to Sweden observes "In the light of my contacts with those Indian emigrants extending from Philippines, China, Indonesia and Malaysia at one end, from South Africa, Mauritius and Reunion at the other and with those emigrants to Sri Lanka, Nepal and Burma near our home, I find that the base of emigration extending over a period of 75 years had completely transformed these people into confident, self reliant and successful communities. We must not imagine that they were not able to support themselves. We must not imagine that they were not able to support the same status as when they were driven out of this country because of poverty. But they are very self-confident, respectable leaders of their communities and doing well for their countries of adoption... they have now acquired personality and position in the lands of adoption ...Not all our

emigrants are backward. Most of them are well to do and they are very satisfied and contended communities..." (Tamil Civilization: September, 1983 : 85).

Since India's Independence

Emigration is not peculiar to one particular period. It is a continuing process and it continues in Tamilnadu and other parts of India even today. In the post independence period people emigrate in search of top positions or insearch of higher education or in search of comfortable living. We term the emigration of the educated and qualified Indians as'brain drain'.

Migration to Great Britain

From the Indian Sub Continent the trend of large scale migration to Great Britain started during the second World War. Before the war Indian seamen formed part of coloured communities in the ports. During the war large numbers of Indian sea men jumped ship in Britain and moved inland to work in factories. Among the Indians in Britain before 1951 there was a large number of doctors and students, many of whom had arrived during the war and stayed afterwards. According to Kondapi's estimate there were about 1000 Indian doctors practising in Britain in 1949 (C.T. Kannan: 1978 : 34).

Migration on a large scale from the Indian Sub-Continent probably began after the huge population movements consequent to the partition. The displacement of the people and the deprivation of their agricultural fields and other possessions prompted them to make use of any opportunities available abroad. Comparatively South India was less affected by the partition tragedies. In the early 1950's

pioneer settlers from India and Pakistan, who had prospered in British industry began to bring their kinsmen and fellow villagers. (Ibid :35 . Facilitated initially by loose commonwealth migration laws as well as the Sub Continent's traditional links with Great Britain large numbers of South Asians emigrated to the mother country between the late 1950's and 1962 when the Commonwealth immigration Act imposed stricter controls on both numbers and composition intakes. At the 1971 census an estimated 322.000 Indian born people were resident in the United Kingdom, approximately 252,000 having entered after 1949 especially between 1949 and 1962. Despite post 1962 restrictions however by 1980 an estimated 750,000 persons of South Asian origin (not just birthplace) lived in the United Kingdom and a further 80,000 in various Countries in Western Europe (R. Appleyard, 1988, : 110-111).

Atmost all Indians and other Asians who came to the United Kingdom can be categorised as visitors. business men, technical trainees, officers of the High Commissions, students, qualified medical practioners who came for further studies, other professional people such as teachers and dentists and finally those came here to work and earn a living as unskilled, semi-skilled or skilled or as white collar workers Obviously the majority of the people from the first four categories are unlikely to remain here on any permanent basis. Hence immigrants, for our purpose, in the main those men and women who came under the categories other than the first four mentioned above (Ibid : 35-36).

According to an earlier estimate nearly four fifths of the Indian immigrants were Sikhs. But now, with the arrival of the immigrants from East Africa and Singapore, this proprotion seems to be considerably altered. Among the former a large majority are the Gujaratis but among the

latter the majority are South Indians and most of them in both cases are holding British passports. And these persons were unable to continue their life in those countries after independence and the consequent imposition of restrictions upon alien population. The only alternative for them was to migrate to the United Kingdom. By virtue of their British nationality they thought they could make a living in Britain without much difficulty. To abandon the home where they had lived for several decades together with all other assets and jobs was really a painful thing. These Asians, however, lost everything and came with the hope that they might at least be allowed to live peacefully. They were quite well off under the British rule in places like East Africa, Fiji, Singapore and Malaysia and were not prepared to go back to their native countries forsaking all the comforts. When children were born in such British territories they naturally acquired British nationality and most of the young people who came from such countries belong to this category. A majority of the parents of these children were however having Asian nationalities, and as a result of these dual nationalities in a family they had to experience some difficulties. Further they thought that British Citizenship would ensure a safer future. Due to such reasons, most of them opted to change their nationalities when the situation in such Countries changed after the withdrawl of the British, several of them left those Countries and managed to come to Britain by virtue of their British nationality (Ibid : 37, 55, 61)

Came for Economic Betterment

The Asian immigrants mostly come to United Kingdom in pursuit of economic betterment and hence usually the males migrate first. The difficulty in arranging

finance for all the family members to come together, the uncertainity of securing accommodation for the entire family as soon as they arrive, the fear of the climatic conditions and the life in general in the United Kingdom give additional impetus to this trend of all male migration. After a few years, when he saves sufficiently he brings his family and tries to settle down in this Country. (Ibid: 37-38.) The immigrant to the USA and Canada also is inclined to behave this way.

A corollary to the improvement of their lower economic position is the improvement of their standard of living. Even the rich people in those parts from where these people came cannot expect to have modern amenities in their homes and to maintain a standard of living similar to the one which working class people enjoy in England. As a result the prospect of going to the United Kingdom gave rise to a feeling of euphoria. (Ibid : 56) The same reasons holds good for the immigrant to the USA Canada and other European countries.

These immigrants found that the possibility of getting a job, although mainly manual, and earning good money with overtime and night shift allowances existed in Britain They have several other considerations as well If one is out of job or is sick, there are social security benefits, in old age there is good old age pension. The standard of living is so high that they cannot compare it with the existing standards in their countries of origin. Most of the Asian families are buying their own houses and several of them own a car. Since they can earn very well, a luxurious living is also possible. They can get all the Asian foodstuffs here and so an Asian way of living is also possible. All social, religious and cultural activities available here are proto-types of the Asian

patterns, and so they have some satisfaction in these respects as well. Medical facilities and education of the children are all provided, and so they see no reason to return (Ibid : 61–62). Almost similar reasons motivate the Tamil migrant to settle in the USA and Canada also.

Now let us turn to those who wish to go back. The parents of the youngsters who have not changed their nationality are most fervent in this regard. The inclement, dismal weather, the prejudiced treatment they often receive at the place of their work, the hard manual jobs with unsocial hours, the inadequacy of their power of expression in the local language, the restricted social contacts, the morality of the white society which is likely to be copied by their children, these are some of the anxieties, which they talk about. Likeminded reasons also influence some of the Tamil migrants in the USA and Canada to return back to Tamilnadu.

Further these people wanted to give a good education to their children, something which most of them lacked themselves. After the children became fully qualified they wanted to go back, so that, they thought they could be easily fixed up in lucrative and prestigious jobs. They thought that even now Asian Governments and people are crazy about any foreign qualification. They wanted to spend their old age among their own people, enjoying their favourite climate. If they save sufficient money they thought there will be no problem in realising all these ambitions. Some of them after returning intend to buy lands and do agricultural work or start some business so they could be fruitfully engaged. It must be clarified however, most of the immigrants are going to stay. (Ibid . 62) Almost identical reasons tempt a few to

return from the USA, Canada or other developed Countries. As a result, except in a few cases, which involve only a small fraction of the first and second generation, the idea of going back will never be realized. We may put the percentage of those who will somehow return at not more than six. (In the USA and Canada between six to ten percent).

Infact economic betterment motivation, attractions of higher educational facilities, better job prospects and better standard of living tempt the Tamils to migrate not only to England, USA and Canada but also to Australia. Newzealand other European countries.

Sri Lankan Tamil Refugees In Europe, USA And Canada

The most noteworthy Tamil migration is the migration of Sri Lankan Tamils. The Tamils from Sri Lanka have been migrating since 1950 when Sinhalese chauvinism appeared on the scene. And all those who fled to the Western World at this time were well educated, professionally distinguished and English speaking westernised Tamils. The West welcomed these immigrants from whose presence there was much to benefit. Most of these persons settled in Australia, Canada, USA and Britain while others sought employment in Nigeria, Ghana, Zambia and other African Countries. At this time no one considered these persons to be economic refugees or refugees of any sort. but welcomed them as valuable professionals and immigrants. (S. Guy De Font Galland : 1989 : 9).

Causes For Their Migration.

Again in 1972 when there was change in the name of the island to Sri Lanka and the adoption of new constitution on a republican model, Government fearing resistance from Tamil minorities harassed them. Hence the Tamils began

to flee the island and migrate to France, Germany and other European Countries, where at that time Visas were not required for Sri Lankans. Some were absorbed as immigrants while others applied for refugee status and were allowed to remain on humanitarian grounds (Ibid : 10.)

This trickle of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees accelerated after 1977 when under the UNP regime Vicious Communal Violence was unleashed against the Tamil minority. The trend took on mass proportion after the 83 violence and continues upto this day. Most of the Sri Lankan Tamils who fled their Country are concentrated in the industrialised capitalist countries such as the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Switzerland, The Netherland, Belgium, Great Britain, the Nordic countries, USA, Canada and Australia in the South.

In many cases those seeking jobs abroad had been forced to do so due to various political factors such as civil arrest within their own Countries, terrorism, discrimination on the basis of language, religion or race and the oppression of the ethnic minorities. Sri Lanka is no exception to this general trend and it can be clearly seen that apart from the approximately 1,500 Tamils who were taken to Malaysia by the British to serve as clerical and administrative staff from 1867 onwards, all other Sri Lankan Tamils started moving out of the Country only after the first overt ethnic violence broke out against the island's Tamil speaking minorities in 1956.

Until the year 1972, it can be observed that the Sri Lankan Tamils seeking employment abroad were almost all highly qualified professionals many of whom were recognised specialist in their respective fields. The seventies saw

a decrease in employment opportunities in the European Countries which were now beginning to face an unemployment problem with which they had also so far not been burdened. On the average it can be seen that 10 percent of the working population of Europe has remained unemployed for the last ten years or so and hence it is but natural that those Countries began to exhibit a marked resistance to the taking in of the foreigners who would place further demands on the available resources of employment (Ibid: 206–207).

Language Difficulties

It was at this economically critical juncture, due to the repressive policies of the Sri Lankan Government, migration of Tamil youth to these Countries began to accelerate. Though approximately twenty five thousand refugees from Sri Lanka had applied for asylum in West Germany, still some of them left Germany because of the policy of the German Government. The refugees from Sri Lanka who reached West Germany after 1980 received a very different treatment to those who had arrived earlier. The confinement to camps and lack of freedom of movement and the non availability of educational facilities for those above seventeen years of age together with the refusal of permission to find employment increased the frustration of these Tamil refugees. Many of them had languished idly in these refugee camps for between four and five years and were haunted by the fear of suddenly sent back to Sri Lanka. Hence the flight of some of these Tamil refugees from West Germany.

Sri Lankan Tamil asylum seekers arrive in France in an irregular manner. And most of them speak only Tamil and a very little English. They therefore find it very difficult to explain their cases to the authorities and contribu-

tes to the popular perception of them as being in search of economic advancement rather than being in genuine need of security and refuge from political persecution and social insecurity.

Racism in Britain

Tamils in the United Kingdom face one primary problem viz Racism. Not infrequently racism is practised in a disguised covert or in subliminal forms within the Country's administrative structures which disabled the Tamil refugees from fighting against this insiduous social disease. Immigration laws give officials sweeping powers which one often used to harass and intimidate Britain's immigrant population. Ironically it is found that black skin or coloured complexion on a person is good enough to attract administrative harassment. The Sri Lankans are having the same unhappy state of feeling as that of other coloured minorities in Britain (Ibid : 285).

The workers we encouraged to immigrate to Britain after the second world war in order to take up the work which the British workers themselves were not willing to do However as economic conditions degenerated following the war and employment became scarce the local labour began to compete for these jobs which had earlier proved unattractive to them. This is the underlying economic force that has given rise for favouring the need for repatriating the black workers to their respective homeland. The trend towards repatriation has not been officially legitimised or institutionalised.

The UK Government had also introduced visa restriction on the Citizens of India, Bangaladesh, Pakistan, Nigeria and Ghana from first October 1986. The Government of

Britain is happy that it has virtually stopped the flow of Tamil refugees. In Britain immigration detention centres exist at Harmondsworth and Ashford. Queens buildings are used primarily for the control of Asian and African immigrants to Britain.

Most of the Sri Lankans who entered Britain before 1972 are well settled. Some of them have become British nationals. Their number accounts to more than 20,000. Among the large number of millionaries in Britain 1. 4 Bangaladhshis and Sri Lankans known as Asians range from 100—500. The British Government's latest statistics in 1981 estimated 4,000 millionaries are among the Country's 56 million population. The Asians may have 1/10 of the country's millionaries (Ibid : 288).

USA, More Hospitable

The USA takes 600,000 new immigrants every year, that is about twice the number accepted by all the countries of the world combined. A number of Sri Lankans have settled in the USA following the beginning of the exodus from the island in 1956. The majority of these immigrants, numbering over 10.000 are Tamils. In addition to the above number 400 more had arrived between the summer of 83 and early 85 Eventhough the USA acknowledged the serious communal problem in Sri Lanka, all applications for asylum had been denied until 85. According to the Government the motive of these asylum seekers arise out of economic considerations rather than any real threat to their security. The USA has also chosen not to institute a policy of extended voluntary deparature for Sri Lankans (Ibid : 294-295).

Humanitarian Outlook of Canadians

The Canadian Government adopted what it terms special humanitarian measures' to benefit those adversely affected

by the situation in Sri Lanka who also had family members in Canada. Such individuals have been allowed to come to Canada under a family reunification programme. All Canadians were immigrants at one time or other and there is no discrimination against the new comers whatever their origin may be

SriLankan Tamils began to move to Canada ever since the 1956 progrom and the implementation of the official language Act. These Tamils are largely well off and also holding good position in Canada. About 8000 Sri Lankan Tamils had gone to Canada and settled down before 1983. Between Jully 1983 and the beginning of 1985 about 2,000 people have gone to Canada. By the beginning of 1986 a little less than further 2,000 people would have reached this Country. Foreigners who come to Canada as (visitors and get married to a landed immigrant or a Citizen of Canada can apply for permanent residence without having to go back to the Country of their origin and apply for it. (Ibid : 296 – 298).

Australia And Asian Migration

The doors of Australia have continued to be open to Asians. The recent years have seen a marked resurgence of Asian migration to Australia, on account of the following two factors. First the official decision to increase the trade with Asia has led to closer relations with its trading partners. The second factor is that the immigrants from Asian Countries willingly undertake the jobs that are least acceptable to the average Australian Citizen. Be doing so they soon occupy important position within the overall social system and economy. It has been quite a shock to the Australian to see how the new Asian Countrymen are hardworking, efficient and industrious.

Australia maintains a comprehensive immigration programme which encourages the arrival of immigrants while at the same time subjecting their selection and rate of arrival kept under planned and systematic con trols. This program is geared towards the achievement securing the economic and demographic go als in this Country which has a population still small in proportion to it vast area and unexploited resources. Refugees and those-seeking political asylum have therefore been welcomed not only for humanitarian reasons but also because they help achive the demographic targets of its immigration programme. Today the refugees represent an important category within Australia's total immigration.

Europeans and Britishers still constitute a clear majority amongst the immigrants. It was only in 1984 that Asian formed the largest proportion of the immigrants who were accepted (32 percent of the total). A significant number of Tamils left Sri Lanka for Australia after the ethnic violence of July 1983, and the option for family reunion remains open to them making it quite likely that they will soon begin to sponsor the arrival of their kith and kin from the island. Besides this a number of Tamils have applied for refugee status in Australia following the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.

The Government maintains the position that Australia is a multicultural society and every one is free to use his own language and maintain his own custom and tradition. A special television programme channel 'o' shows in more than 30 different languages with English subtitles. (Ibid : 299 - 301). These are the factors which tempt the Tamils to migrate and settle in Australia.

Political factors are the push factors and other responsible for the migration of the Fiji Tamils and other Indians to Australia and Newzealand from May 14,1987. The overthrow of the democratic regime led by the Indian majority by Col Rabuka, a Fijian created insecure conditions for the Indians in Fiji This has led to the migration of the Tamil skilled personnel and technicians to Australia and Newzealand leading to brain drain.

Tamil Migration To USA : Push and Pull Factors

Emigration from the Sub Continent declined during the depression of the 1930's but increased again after the second World war. This phase was directed towards the industrial nations of Europe and North America, not the plantation of former imperial Colonies. After partition, flows to the new destinations from India and Pakistan occured in two streams. Semi and unskilled workers for employment in so called 'declining industries' in the United Kingdom; and professional workers mainly to the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Australia (the so called brain drain) (Appleyard : 1989 : 110).

Under the American Government's former quota system allocations to Countries of the Indian SubContinent had been token. New legislation in the mid 1960's which favoured professional and skilled workers whatever their race, had a dramatic impact on in takes from that region as well as on the number of Sub Continental students in the United States deciding not to return home on completing formal education. While census data do not readily allow calculation of ethnic populations (including children born in the United States; various estimates indicate that numbers from

the Sub Continent (including from Tamilnadu) increased rapidly after the mid 1960's. Appleyard (1984) estimates that there may have been 110,000 Indian born residents, in the United States (and a further 68,000 in Canada) in 1974. This confirms the success of post 1960 policies which favoured skilled and professional workers. In 1981, 80 percent of Indian born workers living in the United States were in the 'professional, technical and kindred categories. The percentage for other countries were Western Europe 75, Australia 74, Canada 52 and the United Kingdom only 15. One in seven of all professionally or technically qualified persons who emigrated to the United States between 1965 and 1975 was Indian born. And unlike, emigration during the first phase, the professional / skilled migrants to main receiving countries were drawn from all parts of India (Ibid : 111 – 112).

Between 1947 and 1965 only 6000 Indians entered the USA. But between 1965 and 1976 over 100,000 Indians entered the USA and another 50,000 immigrated in the next four years. This kind of exodus is described as brain-drain. Brain drain is the result of involuntary and compulsory brain aid given by a developing Country to a developed Country. At individual level the services sold under brain drain is voluntary but at the donor Govenment's level it is compulsory. Brain drain occurs because (1) education has not been commensurate with national needs (2) talent and ability to perform go unrecognised or unrewarded (3) jobs do not exist for people trained for professions (4) advancement is more often based on social status or family income than on professional ability (5) and discrimination on the basis ef sex, social class, race or entrenched economic or political interests are noticed. Limited job heirarchy with promotion by seniority with an

excess of professionals do not attract those who have opportunities to go abroad. Hence unemployed, under employed and misemployed are attracted by job opportunities abroad (Nagarajan: 1983)

The strongest motive for going abroad is education especially due to the availability of better and more sophisticated research facilities. Since 1950 such opportunities proliferated because the Indian Government sponsored many such schemes. So young talents have been and are attracted by most prized careers in science, engineering and modern management The foreign students who are likely to remain in the USA are Chinese, Cubans. some Indians, Koreans, Argentinians, Iranians and Columbians. Opportunities to stay after study are much smaller in Europe and Australia, and the proportions planning to emigrate there are lower than among the foreign students in the USA.

Thus the emigrants to the West, USA and Canada were mostly the elite—highly educated and capable persons. Serious educated unemployment at home, difficulty to get into educational institutions for higher studies, impossibility to get jobs inspite of high academic and other achievements on account of the Government's reservation policy etc encouraged these persons to go abroad The average US emigrants from India is generally a graduate, often he is the holder of a high professional degree in engineering, science or medicine. Apparently these persons go to the USA for higher studies to acquire a masters, doctorate or other postgraduate degree. Having got the qualifications they sometimes work as trainees etc for a period and find a way to settle down in a job after acquiring a permanent immigrant status. Most of these persons are young and from the middle class. Few people migrate at later periods in their life.

Persons from the richer classes who go to the USA and to the West to acquire higher educational qualifications often do so to return and improve their family businesses in India or to start a new business. Often the typical immigrants of this type is the junior and inexperienced member of an industrial family who could not with his Indian qualifications or abilities be infiltrated into the Board of a public limited company in the control of the family. With the smokescreen of a foreign degree inductions as a whole time or executive director is managed. Such persons do not stay abroad but return to India. Thus the difference between the rich and the middle class Indian who goes abroad is of great significance.

Some migrate because it opens avenues for the maximisations of one's professional contributions. Some others like the Fiji Indians migrate to avoid distasteful government and repressive conditions. Some prefer foreign countries, because they are able to live in free economic environment in regard to saving, investment rules and procedure. Thus the motives for migration may be summed up (1) sell yourself to the highest bidder, (2) sell yourself to those who offer you maximum facilities especially material and educational, (3) self yourself to those who give you recognition and reward you and (4) sell yourself to those who offer you job satisfaction or career satisfaction, of course there are also some who renounce all these attractions return for low pay rate due to powerful family and cultural ties (Nagarajan).

Brain Aid

Man power export includes not only brain drain but also brain aid. Brain aid is voluntary technical assistance given by one government to another for development pro-

grammes. It is contractual and temporary in character. Some are sent abroad under this scheme to give technical advice or to perform services in developing countries under special projects denoted by their Home government or International organisations. For example, around February 1982 more than 1000 Indians, who included doctors, nurses, professors, teachers, engineers, architects, geologists, economists and statisticians were in foreign countries on bilateral assignments and under the Indian technical and economic co-operation programme. In 1970 the number abroad under this programme was 223 only. (Nagarajan)

Summing Up

The main motivating factors till the premodern period were commercial and religious in character. Coupled with this were advanturous spirit and probably not yet totally proved occasional invasions. Therefore the Tamils were attracted by better income opportunities as well as new opportunities for teaching their religion and culture. In the 19th century the Tamils primarily went as wage labourers eventhough some of them also went as government servants, as clerks and assistants. With the development of industrialisation they also got opportunities to go as factory workers. However since India's independence mainly the educated Tamils began to migrate to the West and the USA because they obtained better educational standards, better living conditions and generally better employment opportunities in these countries. Hence generally students, teachers, professors, engineers, doctors, i.e. skilled personnel went resulting in brain drain. They also went on brain aid programmes to the Third world countries. And since 1971 after the escalation of oil price Tamil labourers also began to migrate to the Middle East but these migrations appear to be temporary in nature.

Thus the primary motives for migration were to move from low wage status to high wage opportunities 2) to move from cheap unwanted surplus labour force situation to markets which created demand for them under labour shortage environment 3) to move from lower standard of living to higher standard of living 4) to flow towards better educational opportunities and invariably especially in the modern era to move from areas of low development to relatively more advanced regions. And in the premodern period the additional motivating factor was to spread their religion either Hinduism or Islam, especially in the Southea Asian countries.

PUSH FACTORS	PULL FACTORS
Economic Hardship	**Money And Freedom**
1. Economic hardhip	1. Better business facilities especially in Great Centres of commerce and industry
2. Ruin of native industries	2. Hospitable environment in alien countries for spreading one's own culture and religion. Which includes friendly political climate
3. Loss of land	3. Availability of opportunities at the point of destination (better prospects)

4 Natural calamities like famine (eg. 19th century)	4. Better employment oppor tunities eg. presence of friend or relative which enables the migrant to get-jobs or to start business or special assistance or subsidies which aid him etc
5. Unemployment (eg.surplus labour force)	5. Better educational facilities (including for their children)
6. Under employment (eg.less scope for professional contribution. Low income as for example since 1947)	6. Better housing facilities (Relatively better living conditions)
7. Misemployment	7. Better recreational facilities
8. High population explosion pressure	8. Opportunities for more pleasure (eg. migration to Europe, USA)
9. Search for more wealth through trade and commerce (since the ancient period) Trade guilds, and trade strangulation (only Chola period)	9. Sound health and cultural amenities (Attractions of affluent societies)
10. Commitment to earn more and advance the welfare of one's own family	10. Brain encouraging environment
11. In search of Higher standard of living	11. Image of reputation of a foreign country like USA as affluent.

12. Natural geographical outlet of Tamilnadu for migration (especially during ancient and medieaval periods)

12. Post successful invasion climate that encourages one to migrate (eg. Tamil migration to SriLanka during Chola period).

13. Invasion (eg. Pallava, Chola invasions and Tamil soldiers in the Philippines

14. Social out caste (Tamilnadu caste politics)

15. Love for propagating one's own values. religion and culture (eg. Hinduism and Islam in pre modern period)

16. Decline of caste and family solidarity (especially) 20th century

17. Breakup of joint family

18. Unmarried status

19. Special skills qualifications

20. Political persecution, overthrow of a regime (eg. 1987 Fiji Tamils)

21. Adventurous spirit

22. Desire for personal advancement

23. Prestige in the home
    as a person with wider
    experience.

24. Religious discontent
    (Buddhist Tamils migrating
    to SriLanka).

25. Development of transport
    and communication

Dominant Characteristics of Overseas Tamil Migration

1. *Voluntary Migration.* Vol untary migration takes place as a result of the operation of the free will and personal choice of the people. They select place of destination and jobs etc according to their choice and also to the attraction of high remuneration.

2. *Labour Migration.* From histroical times people have been migrating from areas having less job opportunity to those having more opportunity.

3. *Brain drain.* The movement of highly skilled persons or technicians from one region to another, a special characteristic of post independence period.

4. *Education Migration*

5. *Economic Migration* (including economic necessity)

6. *Refugee.* Sometimes forced movement of people takes place due to political disturbance and wars; such movements lead the people to shift to the neighbouring and even distant countries as refugees. These people are not easily accepted by the host

country and they are forced to lead a Vagabond life without having stability in terms of house, economic pursuits and social life. Sometime these people are accepted by the host country or by the donor country. At the same time some refugees refuse to go back to their original place because of insecurity there and the political atmosphere of their liking in the host country. In recent years the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees have migrated to Europe, Canada and the USA.

7. *Permanent Migration*: leading to permanent shift of population. The overseas Tamil migration except to the Middle East has the dominant characteristic of permanent migration.

8. *Semi-permanent Migration*: When people do not settle permanently at the place of destination and maintain connection with original residence where some members of their family also reside is known as semi-permanent migration. Especially some Tamils of Singapore and Malaysia and SriLanka belong to this category.

9. *Temporary Migration*: The movement of a people for a short period for business, visits to fairs, places of pilgrimage temporary demand of labour for the construction of new roads, etc. The post 1970 Tamil migration to the Middle East has this dominant characteristic.

10. *Long range Migration*: Is the continuation of migration process for a longer period of time. Eg. Tamil migration to Sri Lanka since the early period.

11. *Inter-continental migration*: The overseas Tamils have migrated and settled in different Continents. It could be also described as international migration because of demarcation of countries and establishment of international traders especially after the second world war.

12. *Institutionalised migration*: That acquires a cultural and structural momentum: example during Pallava Chola periods it appears Tamil migration was institutionalised which also led to the different diffusion of the values of the Tamils.

Overseas Tamil Population Today In The World

Some estimate Indian overseas population around 12 million; but some others estimate it as more than 6 million with their total assets estimated to be about 60,000 to 1,00,000 crores of rupees. (Nagarajan) According to a former Indian Ambassador there are 6.5 million Indians overseas and of these 4.5 millions are citizens of the respective countries of adoption (Tamil civilization: September 1953 : 86) V. Balasubramanian says that all the world over there are 15 million Indian emigrants in numbers varying from 11 to 12 lakhs in Newzealand and Philippines to 38 lakhs in Nepal and 11.70 lakhs in Malaya (as per an account as 1. 1. 1984) has about 7 lakhs in the UK and USA about 6 lakhs. (p 15). Today Indians have accepted citizenship in 91 countries. And bulk of this population abroad originate from Tamilnadu and are mostly in South and Southeast Asia apart from Mauritius and South Africa.

According to 1981 census data there are more than 4.8 crores Tamils in Tamilnadu, And in the whole of India, including Tamilnadu, there are more than 6 crore Tamils. Inaddition there are more than one crore Tamils living in foreign countries but the number of those

who remember their mother tongue Tamil is less than one crore as for example in Mauritius, South Africa etc. Hence in India there are 86 percent Tamils and in foreign countries 14 percent Tamils.

NON-ASIAN COUNTRIES TAMIL POPULATION DETAILS

Country	Total number of Foreign Tamils	Areas where a majority of Tamils live	In comparison with other Indians (100%)
1. South Africa	1980 Census 2,96,000	Natal	Around 37 percent Tamils
2. Mauritius	1,00,000	Port Louis North, southeast Districts	Around 25 percent Tamils
3. Fiji Island	70,000	Western Fiji Nanrokka, Nandi, Lautoka, Tawuwa, Rakiraki, Suva Uciwai, Tongitongi Malolow	Around 1/3 are South Indians Tamils 20 percent of the Indians
4. Reunion	1,00,000		
5. Martinique	14,000	Forte France	

			Basse there Captha	
.	Guaduloupe	60,000		
7.	Guayana	80,000 (approximate figures)	Live in around 60 places. Corentyne Albion, Hampviar Williamburg, Rose Hall, Whim, Port Mourant, Belvedre, Lenora, Enmur.	
8.	Seychelles	Around 3.000 Around 17,000 people have Tamil names		
9.	Britain	Around 2,50,000 (there are around 35,000 Tamils in London)	Wimbledon, Crayton, Southhall, Glascow, Manchester, Brimingham	Around 40 percent South Indians

10. USA	Around 3,00,000	San Francisco, New York, Washington Baltimore, Greater De laware Valley, Harrisburg, Los Angeles	Around 40 percent South Indians
11. Australia	5,000	Western parts Perth city, Sydney	

FIJI

Fiji is situated on the east of Australia in the South Pacific Ocean with more than 300 scattered islands. Out of these 300 scattered islands more than 100 islands are inhabited. Its total land area is 7,056 square miles. Its capital is Suva. The main inhabitants of this island are the Indians and the Fijians. And the main languages are Fijian, Hindi and English. Eventhough many Tamils live in these islands, still Tamil is not considered an important language here. A former colony of Britain, Fiji became independent in 1970.

Tamilians Migrations to Fiji

We have enough evidence about the migration of the Tamils to South, Southeast and east Asin countries from the earliest times. But we have no evidence of Indians travelling 12,000 miles to migrate and settle in Fiji in the ancient and medieval periods

Fiji became a British colony in 1874. And since 1877 the British were getting lot of wealth by exporting Copra and Sugarcane. European settlers in Fiji were unable to entice indigenous Fijians from their communal bartering economy into working their sugarcane plantations for cash. So, as in other British colonies at the time, they turned to the British regime in India for help in recruiting the labour they wanted. Indians came to Fiji first time in 1879. Ship Leonidas carried 1500 Indians and of these one third died of diseases.

As Ahmed Ali says in his Bulletin. The Indenture Experience in Fiji PVII: Between, 1879 and 1916 some 60,537 Indians arrived in Fiji as indentured labourers. Of these

approximately 70% boarded their ship in Calcutta and the rest in Madras (around 16,615 South Indians came). Among the migrants from Calcutta there were 85.3% Hindus, 14.6% Muslims and 0.1% Christians. The Hindus were from a variety of castes: Brahmins and other High castes comprised 16% of those who came to Fiji through Calcutta, the agricultural castes 31.3%. Artisans 6.7%, low castes 31.3%.

British Reasons For Bringing Indians

Why the British brought the Indians to Fiji? Fiji's first substantive Governor Sir. Arthur Gordon was keen on protecting local Fiji customs and culture. Hence he was not keen on interfering with the fijian way of life. Further Sir Arthur Gordon had already served as Governor in the British colonies of Mauritius and Trinidad. So he was aware of the availability of Indian labour and indenured system. He also knew that the Indian labourers were hard working and their wage demands were not high. Therefore, in his view, in a highly populated country like India, where there was unemployment and poverty and which was under British rule it was easy to get cheap labour. Moreover during this time Fijians were not keen on working hard.

Therefore the British Government employed some recruiting agents, who were popularly known as *Arkatis*. These *Arkatis* travelled throughout India in search of cheap labourers. They enticcd these poor labourers by painting rosy pictures about Fiji and took them to Fiji. These *Arkatis* travelled throughout India in search of cheap labourers. They enticed these poor lab ourers by painting rosy pictures about Fiji and took them to Fiji. The recorded stories of some of these indentured migrants to Fiji indicate a variety of personal, social and economic reasons that led young Indians to accept the enti-

cements of recruiting agents and leave family and caste and village to go to an unknown island for across the sea. In the beginning for 100 men proportionately 3 women were recruited. This later changed into 100:20 and finally to 5:1. Till they were taken to Fiji they were asked to stay at the labourers' godowns at Madras and Calcutta.

The indentured labourers' contract was for five years, if necessary it was extended to another five years period. After ten years they were permitted to return to India at Government's expense. They got one shilling (10 annas), as wages per day during this period. Jim Wilson says: "And conditions on board ships and on plantations in Fiji broke them further from the security and restrictions of caste and communal life. High caste and low, and Hindu and Muslim, all had to eat together, work together, and sleep in thinly partitioned tiny rooms in large labour compounds. And the harsh conditions, long hours of heavy agricultural labour, beatings, abuse of women and often barely adequate food, meant that they survived by indin vidual resources and determination or not at all". Those who broke the agreements were taken to the law courts and were forced to pay fines, if someone failed to complete the task before the target date he was jailed.

Sadhu Kuppuswamy's Experiences

Sri Sadhu Kuppuswamy who established South Indian San Marga Ikkiya Association describes his experience as follows:- "After signing five year contract I joined C.S.R. Company. Along with me worked other Indian men and women. C.S.R. Company employed officials known as "*Colombarkal*" to supervise our work. The word of these *Colombarkal* was the law of the Company relating

to our work. Next to *Colombarkal* came the *Sardars*. The *Sardars* carried out in action what was dicted by *Colombarkal* The latter would inform the *Sardars* as to how much work each day each worker should do. Those, whether men or women, who failed to complete the allotted task were pushed down and beaten on their breasts: wages were reduced; they both men and women were abused with vulgar words. In addition some times some of them who failed to complete the alloted work were reported to the magistrates by the *Colombarkal*. Then they would be summoned to the Court where they would be forced to pay fines. Some times, some of them unable to bear the beatings and other tortures of *Colombarkal* used to react spontaneously by beating back the *Colombarkal* and as a result had gone to prison. Even some times murders took place and some of these who committed such crimes were hanged. After completing the five year agreement Indians hired lands on lease for agricultural purposes: some continued to work in C S.R. Com pany itself: some others Joined some other Companies. Some became businessmen. Thus most elected to stay as free persons in the newland rather than take up their right of free passage back to India".

Cruel Experiences

Since 1880 approximately 14,000 sugarcane labourers worked in sugarcane plantations. Of these 90 percent were Indians: Of these more than 50 percent were lease-holders of Anglotrade Associations. Out of the total lands in Fiji, one fifth were used for agricultural purposes. Of these agricultural lands, one third was used for sugarcane growing. On the northern coasts and Vidilevu much sugarcane was grown. In Fiji, out of the total export, more than fifty percent sugar was exported.

Dinabandu Andrews visited Fiji in 915 He discussed with the Fiji Indians about their conditions. Then he recommended to the Fiji Government and C.S.R. Company to improve the conditions of the poor Indians. That time the wages for individual labour was 12 penny. But due to Andrews recommendation it was increased to 15 penny as recorded by Sadhu Kuppuswamy.

None in Fiji took efforts to abolish the indenture system. For the first time opposition to this cruel system appeared only in India. C.P. Andrews, a friend of Mahatma Gandhi, came to Fiji to enquire about the indentured labourers' condition in Fiji. These Indians including C. F. Andrews also learnt about Fiji Indians desperate conditions by studying J.W. Burton's book on Fiji and Fiji Indians and Toto Ram Sanadaya's autobiography wherein he describes his 21 years struggle in Fiji as indentured labourer. As a result of the ceaseless efforts made by Dinabandu, C.F. Andrews, V. Pearson ultimately the indentured system was abolished in 1917. Finally Indians were able to migrate and settle in Fiji from 1920 without any difficulty with freedom.

Tamil Swamiji's War Against Exploitation

The sugarcane plantations in Fiji were owned by C.S.R., an Australian company Each Indian farmer was given 10 acres land for 10 year lease. He was permitted to build a house on this land, to use one acre land for his personal agricultural needs and to grow sugarcane in the remaining 9 acres of land. He was forced to sell these sugarcanes to the Company at a lower price fixed by them. The Company produced sugar and exported them. Usually for a ton of sugar the Indian peasant got 30 percent share and the Company the remaining 70 percent share.

But during the war period the price of sugar reduced rapidly, which affected the Indian peasant. The latter's plea to the Company was ignored and the Government refused to intervene. So the peasants approached Swami Rudrananda. Swami Rudrananda belonged to a family of Mirasadar of Manalmedu, near Mayavaram (Mayiladuthurai), Tamilnadu. His *Grhasta* name was Muthu Krishnan. He was a close friend of Kalki Krishnamoorthy. Ramakrishna Mutt sent Swami Rudrananda to Fiji in 1937. Noticing Swamiji's interest in Indian peasants, the Fiji Government prohibited Swamiji and Barister Ambal Patel, the Legal Advisor of South Indian Sanmarga Ikkiya Association, from travelling beyond 5 miles from their place of stay Nandi. The peasants remained calm. But the Company with the help of the Government cut and forcibly took their sugarcane. In retaliation the peasant with their own hands lit the sugarcane fields. Fire spread and destroyed the sugarcane. This was known as "Lanka Dakanam".

Noticing the calm and self-sacrificing attitude of the peasants , the Government came down and the peasants won a victory. After Fiji's independence Lord Denning gave judgement regarding sugarcane sharing prices: peasants were to get65 percent and the owner of the sugarmills to get 35 percent from the sale of sugar. But this was not favourable to the Company people. Hence they decided to sell their lands and sugar mills. As a result of this development many Tamils, who went as indentured labourers, became owners of Sugarcane mills and lands. Swamiji and Ambal Patel were responsible for creating this improvement

Tamil Population

Fiji's, total population is 6,78,000. Of these 40 percent are Fijians, descendants of Melanesians. Around

50 percent descendants of Indian labourers and businessmen. The rest 10 percent are the Chinese, Europeans, Micronesians and Polynesians. Mr. Bala Ganapathy, Tamil Advisor to Fiji Government, gives the following data:- The total number of Fijians are 3,30,441. The total number of Indians 3,47,445. Europeans, Chinese and the rest 36,662. Of these Indians in Fiji, one third hail from South India popularly known as *Madrassis* in Fiji 1,16,000. Of these 70,000 or 80.000 Tamils: 2 or 3 thousand Keralities ie Malayalees and the rest were Telugus. These are approximate figures. When attempts were made to take census relating to South Indians census department, Fiji refused to yield to this request. The most important languages that are spoken in Fiji are Fijian, Hindustani and English. Eventhough Tamil is spoken, Tamil is not considered as an important language of Fiji.

Tamil Areas

In the eastern Fiji Fijians live. Generally we cannot see many Indians including Tamils in the east. Only in Lombosa and in Savusavu we can see some Tamils.

A majority of the Tamils and other Indians live in the western Fiji. The places where most Indians live are Nanrokka, Nandi. Lautokka, Tawuwa, Rakiraki. Many Tamils live in Uciwai in Nandi, Rakiraki, Tongitongi, and Malolow.

Tamil Education

During the beginning periods of indentureship, there were no schools for Indian children. Only the Christian Missionaries had established some schools in places like Suva. Some of the indentured laboures who came from India also knew how to read and write. These literate

Indian labourers to a certain extent taught their respective mothertongues and respective provincial cultures to the children hailing from their respective Provinces.

The Arya Samajists under the leadership of Sri Swami Manoharananda Maharaj established Arya Samaj in Fiji. These Arya Samajists not only propagated their religion but also Indian education. They established in Semonia ait Lautoka a Gurkul School and taught Indian children. Modelled on this another School was established at Vayrook in Rakiraki by Badri Maharaj. Thus the Arya Samajsts tried to create the necessary infrastructure of the Indian educational system in Fiji. However due to difference of opinion between the Arya Samajists and Sanatanists, between *Madrassis* and North Indians, much improvements in this direction was not achieved.

During Dinabandu's visit to Fiji in 1917, he established an Indian School at Nandi, as well at Sampetha. The Schools were known as Andrews School and were succesfully run by the management.

Towards the latter part of 1920 one Sadhu Vasishtamuni visited Fiji from India. This Sadhu went on a walking our over all the places inhabited by the Indians. He found the poor conditions of the Indians and preached them to observe a decent moral life. He also found there were no Schools for the Indian children. Therefore he called the Village folk, advised them to construct a hut for starting a school immediately, stayed with them till the construction was completed, then appointed a school teacher to teach the children and only after completing this task he would leave a place during his walking tour. Therefore during his short stay at Fiji he established in a few places a few Indian

Schools. Unfortunately he stayed in Fiji only for ten months. He taught the Indians that they needed Schools for their children, hence they should co-operate and establish Schools and even those who only knew a little to read and write should come foreward and teach This teaching, it appears, was remembered and hence here and there Indian Schools were started. *Madrassis* also to the best extent possible co-operated and tried to promote the education of their children. Generally all the Schools mentioned above were Hindi Schools. South Indians took efforts on their own to teach their respective mother tongues to their children with the help of a few teachers. In Vayrook School Badri Maharaj permitted teaching of Tamil and Telugu by South Indians

Beginings of Tamil Education

Among the *Madrassis* the following were those who were teaching Tamil to Tamil children. Lautoka District: Vairam Petthavil Kengu Pillai; Lautoka District: Paluka Pahat Village Velayutham Pillai; Nandi District: S. Narayana Pillai; Tabua District: Tangi Tangi Ramaswamy Gownder: Tabua District: Veykonavil Kadirvelu Mudaliyar; Paa District: Thanjavur Piriyil Rangaswamy Ayyangar; Paa District: 20th Number Village, Vadivelu Nattar; Rakki Rakki District: Dothi Village Periaswamy; Rakki Rakki District: Vayrook V. Gopala Mudaliyar; Rakki Rakki District: Mullavu Village, Kuppuswamy Sadhu.

In some other districts also *Madrassi* teachers worked. All these teachers taughts their respective mother tongues to their students and gave these children reading, writing, and moral lessons.

Sadhu Kuppuswamy worked since 1921 for four years in the School built by K. S. Raman in Rakki Rakki District. His first students were Doraiswamy, Kuppan, Perumal Chetty. Raj Gounder, Ramaswamy Naidu, Murugamma and Abdul Kader. After the closure of the School in which Sadu-Kuppuswamy worked for four years, Tamil was taught in Vayrook School. During this time, Purushottam Mudaliyar, Kandaswamy Pillai, Namasivayam Mudaliyar, Gurunathan Pillai, Periaswamy Pillai, Guruswamy and Gopala Mudaliyar worked as Tamil teachers.

Krishnaswamy, Macchonayar, Krishna Reddy, M.N. Naidu and Rengaswamy explained before Fiji Education Commission that South Indian languages should be taught in Fiji Schools. In this connection, a Memorandum was submitted to the Commission by M.N. Nayudu. In 1929 the Education Commission made the following recommendation:- "At the Elementary School stage Hindi will be taught. Soon quickly English will be introduced as a spoken language and as a medium of instruction. Simultaneously, since other language groups parents are in large numbers according to their desire Tamil, Urudu, Telugu and Gujarathi can be taught along with Hindi and English".

Tamil Education in Tangi Tangi

Tangi Tangi Sanjeeva Reddi in 1921 donated 5 acres of land for the building of a School. In additiion, he demolished the backportion of his house and built a School there.

In this School Sriman Manikka Reddi's father Kanna Kanniappa Reddy and Singiri Nayudu worked as teachers. Tamil and Telugu were taught in this School. In 1926 a Tamilian known as Samarasam came from Madras and he taught both Tamil and English. In 1927 Rajagopala Naidu,

a talented linguist, joined this School and he taught English, Tamil and Telugu. After him, this teaching of three languages was done by James Carpamasi. Gangadara Mudaliyar and Ramaswamy Naidu continued to teach mother tongues. In 1930 Tangi Tangi Indians constructed a new building, where all the children were accommodated and who were all taught Hindi, English and Tamil. Inspite of this around this time Tamil language education began to decline in Tangi Tangi. In May 1950 the construction of another building began at Tangi Tangi, but which was completed in March 1958. In this new School M. Venkanna Rao, M. Ramaswamy Maran, Krishnayya Reddi, Kedarnath Sarma, Sadev Singh, Unnamalai Sadasivan and Viswanathan worked as teachers. Since 1938 till today youth Association members also teach Tamil language in Tangi Tangi Village.

Then India Sanmarga IKYA Sangam's [T.I.S.I. Sangam's] Educational Aims:

The following were the educational aims of T.I.S.I. Sangam which was founded in January 1926. (A) Science, Arts and handicrafts education should be taught and improved: (B) Establishing, protecting, helping and running Librararies. Art Gallerys in Schools (C) Training teachers and extending the benefits of this training to common man (D) Taking the necessary steps to promote and spread education among common man.

T.I.S.I. Sangam and Tamil Education

T.I.S.I Sangam started a School inside the compound of Nandi Subramanyar Temple on 14th March 1927. Further more in the same year Uciwai School and Tangi Tangi Schools were started. In 1928 Sampetta School, Alguna School. Nandala School and Mooka School were started. In 1929 Nandi School was swallowed by floods. Within the

next two or three years a few more Schools were closed. Sinc 1930 Nandirangam opened a new School.

Another Association known as Madras Sangam founded in 1930 a School at Uluicalia Navchori. In 1931 this School too was swallowed by floods. The first teachers of this School were Kumaraswamy and Appa Pillai. After 1943 this School did not get Government recognition.

Swami Avinashananda's Efforts

In the beginning Tamil language education appeared to develop, but after 1930 its progress and growth were affected. In 1937 Swami Avinashananda of Ramakrishna Mutt came to Fiji. He propagated for the growth of South Indian education. Around this time, when he was propagating, Hindustani and English were taught as compulsory subjects in all Indian Schools. A second language, bound by various restrictions, was permitted to be taught. The Education Department appreciated Swami Avinashananda's efforts In its report, the Department recorded that thanks to Swamiji's efforts, South Indians gave much more attention and showed much enthusiam to South Indian language education and generally to South Indian Education.

Due to the efforts made by Swami Avinashananda and T.I.S.I. Sangam some important changes took place in South Indian educational system. Therefore in 1937 Matthews Educational Report was published. According to this Report in those Schools where a majority of students were non-Hindi speaking, English should be the medium of education, and second language, education could be in any Indian languages. The Government accepted the recommendations of Matthews Educational Committee and also introduced ordinance No. 48 of 1937 according to which all Indian children should learn their respective mother tongues

Thanks to the efforts of Swami Avinashananda from April 7, 1938 in separate rooms Tamil, Telugu and Gujarati, were taught in Nandi School. On June 10, 1938 Sangam decided to bring teachers from India. As a result of this as well as due to Swami Avinashananda's cooperation Swami Rudrananda and a teacher by name N. Ramakrishnan, B.A., B.T., came to Fiji on February 24, 1939.

After the arrival of Ramakrishnan to Fiji Sangam released an educational plan. According to this plan, from class 1 to 4 mother tongue will be the medium of instruction, from Class 5 English will be introduced, but in all classes mother tongue and in higher education Hindi will be introduced. Village Schools will have 4 classes, Jillas (Districts) 6 and Central 8 classes. The Educational Director gave his approval to this plan. As a result Tamil and other South Indian Languages began to develop, Ramakrishnan inspired teachers by going from one School to another School.

In 1941 Tamil teachers were appointed at Mulamulo, Pilatha School. On April 13, 1941 Sangam took the following decision (1) Those who pass and qualify in Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam languages will be given certificates by Sangam (b) The Government should give grants to Masters coming from India.

Sangam Opposes English Medium

In May 1944 Sangam openly opposed the idea of using English as a medium of instruction and wanted only mother tongue to be used as a medium of instruction.

The report released by Sangam in May 1945 revealed that there were 8 Tamil teachers, 8 Telugu teachers, one

Malayalam teacher, for both Tamil and Telugu 3 and the number of students studying were 1449 (boarding 32).

On September 8, 1946 Sangam adopted the following decisions:

(1) Examination should be conducted in mother-tongue. If mother tongue is not used for examination purpose during teachers's training, mother tongue should be taught at Nattham Puvat training.

(2) Sangam should conduct examination for South Indian teachers and should give language grant.

(3) If Government officers are not sent to examine mother tongues, then Government should give permission to Sangam to send such Sangam officers.

The Government did notr eact favourably. The Government said in September 1947 that "the Youth do not want mother tongues; only some old people want that". This reply of the Government disappointed everyone.

Sangam's Schools: Rudrananda's Role

The Schools run by T.I.S.I. Sangam were known as Sangam Schools. Swami Rudrananada established many Sangam Schools even before the second world war. Swami Rudrananda, who was the head of Ramakrishna mission. Fiji, till recently was in charge of 30 Sangam Schools. To-day more than 15,000 students study in these Schools. Sri Vivekananda High School, established by the Swamiji at Nadi, was instrumental in introducing higher education in Fiji. This School was founded in 1949. In 1981 there were

783 Indians, 168 Fijians and 6 Europeans were studying in this School. Thiru Balaganapathy Pillai served as the Principal of this School for many years. Today G. Nayakkar is the Principal of this School. This was the first School to give higher educational opportunities in Fiji. This School began to get Governmental grants only since 1969. Even the only one university which we see in Fiji today was inspired and founded by this Swamiji from Tamildadu.

Before the second world war, Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam were taught in Sangam Schools. Till 1950 this scheme worked out some what satisfactorily. Eventhough the Government granted permission to teach South Indian languages in these Sangam Schools, still it did not give permission to conduct exams in these South Indian language Making use of the opportunity available in these Schools. Tamilians came forward to teach Tamil to their children.

Decline of Tamil Language

In 1940's Government accepted Sangam School teachers as Government Servants. Hence these teachers were paid salary by the Government and not by the Sangam School management as in former days. Under these conditions teachers lost their interest to teach well Tamil language. The Ministery of Education too did not take much interest in inspiring them to teach Tamil language well. Furthermore North Indians settled in Fiji came forward to teach Hindi. The South Indians who felt inferior to North Indians began to forget Tamil gradually. The Fijian Tamils lost their link with Tamilnadu during the second world war The British Government did not come forward to encourage Tamil language learning; Hindi fanticism increased and

Tamils began to develop inferiority complex: As a result of these complex factors, Tamil language education began to decline in Fiji from 1950.

Around 1940 there were one lakh Tamils living in Fiji. But forty-seven years later they were reduced to only 70,000. Of these only around 5000 to 6000 know to read and write Tamil. A majority of the Tamils do not know how to speak Tamil. Many are ashamed of even calling themselves as Tamils. They are equally ashamed off to speak in Tamil. Many lost their Tamil Culture because of interracial marriages. These Tamils speak Hindi and English. In the same Tamil family many kinds of inter-marriage take places hence in such a family Tamil has disappeared, replaced by Hindi.

Efforts to Revive Tamil

In this atmosphere some try to preserve and promote the study of Tamil language. In 1985 A Tamil language protection committee was appointed. Appa pillai was appointed Chairman of the Committee. Appa pillai has been living in Fiji since 1920s. He was teaching Tamil in Fiji since 1930 but now an old man trying to preserve the purity of Tamil language. He does not wholly share the ideas of T.I.S.I sangam, which also tries to promote the study of Tamil and Telugu especially for the last four or five years Thiru Balaganapathy, a former principal of Sri. Vivekananda High School, who went to Fiji in early 1950's is closely associated with T.I.S.I. Till recently he was the Tamil language Advisor in Fiji. N.K. Naidu, the General Secretary of T.I.S.I Sangam, also makes efforts to promote Tamil language study in Fiji. T.I.S.I. Sangam has separate Tamil,

Telugu and Malayalam Units. A few years ago the Fiji Education Commission has recommended that everyone has to learn their mother tongue; hence the Tamilians also should learn Tamil.

Tamil Education Position Today

Today in Fiji Tamil is taught in 16 Sangam Schools and 3 non-Sangam Schools. Approximately 1600 to 1800 students study Tamil. Hence Fiji Government has given permission to teach Tamil and Telugu in Schools. Further in class VIII, Tamil language students are permitted to sit for Tamil language examination. The first group of Tamil students will sit for such an examination in 1989. In 1987, 250 students were studying in 6th class.

In his letter dated 15th Dec. 1989 Mr. M.R. Balaganapathy, former Tamil Advisor to Fiji Government writes "The Sangam has conducted the very first public exam in Tamil for pupils of classes 6 and 8, this year (1989). About 160 have taken the exam. While the Education Department has expressed its inability to conduct that examination (due according to their own original accepted plan)' our own Telugu and Tamil Advisor' had stood in the way....... still that the examination in Tamil (also in Telugu) was conducted by the Sangam is by itself a great improvement.

Now in the present Government in the set up of the Department of Education (ie. Ministry of Education) the Chief Education Officer (Primary) is one Mr. Amaraiya Naidu. Through his help, one new Tamil Advisor has been appointed for three years. (at one go) and she will also take post of a lecturer at the Government Teacher' Training School (locally called as Lautoka Teachers' College) to

teach Tamil as a second language to the teachers under training. While this course is only for a few (4+4 periods per week, ie. 4 periods for the first year Teacher Students and 4 periods for the Second year student Teachers) now Tamil occupies the place occupied by Fijian, Hindi, and Urdu and in the Teachers' Training College (the word College is used for an institution which will be just equivalent to our Teacher's Training Schools in Tamilnadu). Of course when I was in Fiji, this post was filled up by me; later on Mrs. Uma Nitkunan (from Sri Lanka) took that place. But this announcement of the appointment for three years at one go is something very very new. Thanks. Of-course to Mr. Amaraiya Naidu.

Perhaps this coming year 1990 we can very well hope to see that Tamil (and perhaps Telugu too) is/are included as one among the subjects to be examined in the class Eight Examintion conducted by the Government."

Lack of Enough Facilities for Tamil Education

Eventhough some Tamilians are keen on promoting Tamil language education still enough facilities for such a task are not available in Fiji. Firstly there are not enough Tamil teachers. T.I.S.I. Sangam has taken pains to give teachers training. Of these 5 teachers were given High recommendation. But the other recommended teachers do not have good knowledge of Tamil and also do not have qualified degrees in Tamil language, Of these 5 highly recommended teachers 4 were chosen by the Government and were given training in Fiji Teachers' Training College. But it can not be stated with certainity that best training is given by the Teachers' Training College. The Government runs Wasinai Training College where Teachers' Training are given.

Lack of Adequate Language Textbooks

Further there are not enough Tamil language text books in Fiji. Eventhough Fiji Government helps in giving training to Tamil language teachers, still has not come foreward to publish Tamil language text books. Fiji teachers has been using Textbooks published in Tamilnadu for a long time. However, it is believed, text book, written keeping in view Fiji background, will be more useful. Tamil is taught only as a second language in Fiji.

Hence thanks to efforts made by Balaganapathy and others text books are being written keeping in view Fijian environmental and emotional needs. Mu. Va., M.R.P. Guruswamy's Roman Tamil writing method is also used in Fiji. This is because to many Fijian Tamils, Tamil has become a foreign language. In Roman Tamil, English letters are used to teach Tamil. For this purpose a key has been given separately for the pronounciation and writing of Tamil words in Roman script. Hence attempts are being made to teach Tamil through Roman scripts.

Thanks to the efforts taken by G.S. Naidu, Senior Education Officer, Tamil Development Association. Book-1 and Book-2 Tamil Books have come, which can be used upto 5th class. These two books were published with the help of Tamilnadu Government. Tamilnadu Government printed and gave 10,000 copies of each book to Fiji Tamils. Apart from these books, teachers are also given guide books in manuscript form.

Book 4 is being published by Madurai Kamaraj University. For publishing Book 3 at first Malaysian Tamil Arts Society was approached. They were lukewarm in their response and ultimately did not publish Book-3. Hence Tamil University was approached for the publication of Book 3. Balaganapathy, Tamil Advisor in Fiji wrote to us stating:

"We do need a lot of materials (esp. Book 3 then 4) other books, cassettes, Teaching Aids, the charts etc.etc could you help us first with Book 3 sir, save our souls and save and serve the cause of reviving Tamils. This is not a mere academic matter for discussion, debate, thesis etc. I need not add sir This is an urgent call from the otherside of the world. The Tamilians here will lose all touch with Tamil if the help does not come now. Now or never is a fact. I hope I have conveyed enough about the plight of Tamil and Tamilians here --- If Tamilnadu and Tamil University do not come to our aid where else we can go"? As requested by Balaganapathy, Vice-chancellor Dr. Agesthialingam of Tamil University published at Tamil University's expense Book-3. Hence due to lack of adequate Tamil text book Tamil language development has been retarded in Fiji.

Reasons For the Decline of Tamil Language

Hindi fanatics in Fiji too are responsible for the decline of Tamil language. For example, the All Fiji Hindi convention recommend the use of Hindi as a compulsory language for all Indians in Fiji. Fiji Government has not yet responded favourably to this.

The inferiority complex of the Tamils also has affected the growth of Tamil language in Fiji. They don't have committed aspiration and enthusiasm to learn Tamil language. Lack of enthusiasm among them has contributed to the decline of Tamil language in Fiji.

It appears leaders like Swami Rudrananda did not take special pains to promote Tamil language. Swami Rudrananda was busy promoting an Indian outlook relegating Tamil to the background. However Balaganapathy is of the view that Rudrananda too took a leading part in the promotion of Tamil language.

Balaganapathy was Tamil Advisor till recently. Now Mrs. Uma Nirgunan has been appointed as Tamil Advisor, and Devendra Rao as curriculam Development Officer (a former principal of Suva Sangam High School and an Andhra). Uma Nirgunan has introduced some changes which appears to promote Sri Lankan Tamil. Hence a section of the Tamils are not happy with these proposed changes.

Education in Fiji : A General Picture

Prior to 1916, when the Government began to establish Schools, education was mainly in the hand of missionaries. There are two Grammar Schools in Suva primarily for Europeans and a Public Schools in Levuka. The Queen Victoria School near Suva provides higher education for Fijians, Various bodies mainly missions with authority from the Department of Education conduct Primary Schools for Fijians.

Prior to 1965 higher educational institutes were not there. There were only a number of post secondary training facilities and theological Colleges.

The Fijian system of secondary education consists of academic programes leading to Newzealand School certificate exam in the 3rd or 4th year of study and Newzealand University entrance exam in the 4th or 5th year of study. It also offers agriculture, trade, and teacher training programme at the secondary level.

The system of 8 years Primary School (classes-1—8), and 4 year Secondary School (from 3-6) was replaced by 6 years Primary School (classes 1—6) and 6 years Secondary Schools (forms 1—6). All except 32 of Fiji's 760 Primary and Secondary Schools are run by nongovernmental bodies, nearly all these non-governmental bodies are heavily subsidised

by the Government Fijians must pass from 6 to enter the University. A pass in the Newzealand School certificate Exam or the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Exam is the minimum required for entrance into the University. The University of South Pacific P.OB. 1168. Suva was founded in 1968 and Fiji has only this University. English is the medium of instruction in this University. The University functions from February to November (2 Semesters) The total number of students in this University 2082. Before the establishment of this University for studying in Universities students from Fiji used to go to Newzealand Universities, around 1100 miles away from Fiji. Only 3 percent of the students between the Age group of 18 and 22 go for University studies.

Fiji College of Agriculture Koronivia Nansori was founded in 1954. This College offers 3 year diploma course in tropical agriculture. In 1964, Fiji institute of Technology was founded. And since 1886 Fiji School of Medicine has been functioning.

English, the official language, is used in the Schools. The law does not require children to go to Schools. Most Fijian and Indian youngsters attend separate Schools. Education is compulsory only in the dependency of Rotuma elsewhere 6 to 14 years must attend Schools if there is one within a distance of 5 Km. 85 percent between 6 to 13 years go to School in Fiji. In the national budget on education 19 percent has been allocated for all education and 2 percent for higher education. However there are not enough teachers in Fiji.

T.I.S.I. Sangam

We have already discussed a bit about this Sangam, while discussing about Tamil education in Fiji. T.I.S I. Sangam

was founded on January 10, 1926 at Rakki Rakki during the birthday celebration of Swami Vivekananda. On January 31, 1926 a meeting was held at Nandi, Till May 20, 1962 in all districts meetings were conducted. The founder of this Sangam was Sri Sadhu Kuppuswamy. Others who helped him in this task were Gopal Mudaliar, K.S. Raman, Narayan Nayar, K. Karuppan, Sardar Nagaiah and Appaswamy.

Aims

We have already discussed the aims related to education of this Sangam. The other aims were (1) To establish and run Destitute homes, hospitals, eating houses, and other similar institutions which would help the needy and the poor: (2) To build and administer temples, choultries and Mutts: (3) In order to explain Sangam's aims, leaflets and daily newspaper should be printed and distributed: (4) To preach and promote Hindu Dharma, its related shastras and teachings of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa.

The head office of Sangam was established at Nadi. The flag of the Sangam has the symbols Om, Cross and Cresent. In 1928 Ramakrishna Library was also established. However there was no unity among all South Indians and hence some did not welcome Sangam's activities. V.M.Pillai regretted that he did not get the Presidentship of the Sangam. He had enough support at Southeastern Viti Levu. But he could not make much of an impression in North-Western Vitilevu, where M.N. Naidu enjoyed the confidence of every body. Disgruntled V.M. Pillai decided to inaugurate another Sangam Society in Suva.

On the 26th of December, 1927. V.M.Pillai convened a meeting at flagstaff at the Temple of Ganapathy Waddiyar: which was attended by the South Indians from Suva and the neighbouring districts of Rewa and Navua. Also present were some prominent people like Dr Beattie, S.B. Patel,

Hakim Din B.A.B.T. Pt. Shree Krishna Sharma, Santa Singh Chowla, Deoki, Vishnu Deo, Durgaprasad and Ram Samajuh. As a result of this meeting, another South Indian Association, known as Madras Maha Sangam was founded and V.M.Pillai was made the President of this Mahasangam. The aims of this Mahasangam were (1) To organise and unify the South Indians; (2) To better the general conditions and encourage social service; (3) To establish a Central School for primary education of South Indian Children.

The formation of Madras Mahasangam was naturally greeted by cries of protest from the North west Viti Levu, in particular by the members of T.I.S.I. Sangam. The Madras Maha Sangam lost its importance after a couple of years. However an important outcome of its activities took place in 1931 when due to its efforts. Then India Valibar Sangam was established in Fiji. Appa Pillai was elected the first President and K.K. Swamy the First Secretary.

Avinashananda's Dynamism

T.I.S.I. Sangam was not much affected by these developments. It developed in size and complexity. But it lacked the expertise necessary to guide and co-ordinate the activities of a such a large organization. It was then to India the Sangam turned for help. On request by M.N. Naidu, Swami Avinashananda was sent to Fiji by the Ramakrishna Mission to assist the T.I.S.I. Sangam. Swami Avinashananda, arrived by S.S. Suva on 21st May 1937. He was a dedicated leader, a Scholar of several languages and a holder of Master of Arts Degree.

Upon his arrival in 1937, Swami Avinashananda saw that if Sangam was to attain its chief objectives of providing cultural education for South Indians, it must have a

sound legal footing. This would give it a stronger voice in its demands. With this Swamiji enlisted the aid of A.D. Patel. With Patel's help on 6-11-1938, T.I.S.I. Sangam was registered under the Companies Ordinance 1913.

Swami Avinashananda was able to kindle tremendous enthusiasm among South Indian Women. Through his inspiration, the Mathra Sangam (Women's Sangam) took birth at Nadi to help the South Indian women in Fiji. As for Nadi, Mrs. Muthamma Mariappa Gounder was elected the first President. For Ba Mrs. Tayaramma Naidu was elected the First President. In other districts also Mathra Sangam sprang up.

At the suggestion of Swami Avinashananda a hostel had been built. The Mathra Sangam undertook to maintain the hostel. In every South Indian Home when the daily meal was prepared a handful of rice was collected and sent to Nadi boarding. Sangam used to provide food for boys and girls hostel. Swami Avinashananda also was responsible for building a boys' hostel at the Subramaniyam Temple.

Swami Avinashananda's contribution to T.I.S.I. Sangam is a record in the History of South Indians of Fiji. He left Fiji for India on the 6th February 1938. Swami Avinashananda on his return to India made arrangements to send Swami Rudrananda and with him a teacher N. Ramakrishna B.A.L.T. The latter arrived in Fiji on 24th February 1939.

Rudrananda's Contributions

Swami Rudrananda and N. Ramakrishnan through their speeches attracted the South Indians towards them. Night classes and Bhajan classes were introduced. The teaching of South Indian languages, prospered. Further under the leadership of Swami Rudrananda the T.I.S.I. Sangam imported a Telugu teacher M. Gyaneshwar Rao from Raj-

mundry, Andhra Pradesh. He arrived in Fiji on 26th September 1940.

The T.I.S.I. Sangam felt that M.N. Naidu and Sadhu Kuppuswami did meritorious work in Sangam, so at the Annual General Meeting held on 12th and 13th April 1941 they were honoured: M.N. Naidu as "Danveer" and Sadhu Kuppuswami as "Sewak Rathnam"

Swami Rudrananda and A.D. Patel were the founders of the Akhil Krishak Maha Sangh. Since then, the Sangam members had been taking active part in the Sugar industry.

In 1945 T.I.S.I. Sangam decided to go into business and open co-operative stores. Plans were under way. A D. Patel felt that a press will be more useful in the activities of Sangam. Finally Sangam Sarda Printing Press was established and opened on 15 - 8—1948. The Press played an important role in the political activities of A.D Patel. The paper "*Jagriti*" and *Pacific Review* made net losses during their life spans.

T.I.S.I. Sangam completed its 25 years in 1951. The Silver Jubilee was celebrated at Nadi Sangam School for 10 days from 24th May to 2nd June 1951.

The formation of the Dakshina India Andhra Sangm did not affect the T.I.S.I. Sangam because a majority of the Telugu people continued as Sangam members. Swami Rudrananda on his return from India in November 1950 started discussing with the members of T.I.S.I. Sangam for the formation of a branch of a Shri Ramakrishna mission in Fiji. In the meeting Narsimlu (Raki Raki). Dr. Gopalan, Manu, Salim Buksh, and a few others experessed that Ramakrishna Mission would be a society where all the Hindus could become members in contrast to T.I.S.I. Sangam

which was the society for the South Indians. They felt that these two bodies should be separate bodies, but should work hand in hand and cooperate and co-exist together. Tamil, Telugu and Hindustani hand bills were circulated throughout Fiji for the formation of Shri Ramakrishan Mission Branch and ultimate take over of Sangam by Mission.

News spread throughout Fiji that a branch of Ramakrishna Mission would be formed and the property of Sangam would be transferred All the Nadi people were in favour but the other districts were against. South Indians got alarmed and through that their society will be doomed.

Finally on Sri Durga Puja Day 26th September 1952 a branch of Ramakrishna Mission was formally established at Nadi. Swami Rudrananda with some of the Sangam members wanted to transfer the property of T.I.S.I. Sangam to Ramakrishna Mission in Fiji. A majority of South Indians objected to this so it was left in abeyance. This branch had been registered under the religious bodies ordinance. The following were trustees: Swami Rudrananda Sadhu Kuppuswamy, Appasami Pillai, Jagannatha Naidu, Ambalal Dhahyabhai Patel, Arumugam, Rangasami Naidu, Munsamy Reddy, Narsimma, Ramakrishanasami Pandaram and Manikam Reddy.

At the Annual General Meeting of T.I S.I. Sangam held at Nadi on 8th January 1953 a resolution was passed and Sangam transferred the management of Vivekananda High School, Ramakrishna Library, Ramakrishna Ashram, and Ramakrishna Anatalaya (destitute home) to the Ramakrishna Mission, Fiji branch despite objection from the South Indians However, it was agreed to transfer only the management and not the property. Later K.S. Reddy, a member

of the Legislative Council of Fiji submitted the cultural societies bill in the Legislative council on the enactment of which Sangam properties were prevented from transfers to Ramakrishna Mission.

More oppositions appeared against the Management Committee of T.I S.I. Sangam. Hence in the Management Committee meeting held in 1955, K.S. Reddy, K.A. Pillai, P.D. Mudaliar, S. Kannan Mudaliar, Krishna Narsingh Rao, in all 5 members of the Sangam were expelled. Subsequently more and more were expelled including the present General Secretary of the Sangam N.K. Naidu and Chairman of Golden Jubilee Committee Krishnamurthy.

After these developments, by and by all, Sangam Schools of Fiji stopped sending money to Sangam Head Office. They started managing their own affairs. This gave a chance to all the Sangam Schools throughout Fiji to stand on their own feet and to improve vastly their Schools.

Revival of the Sangam: 1976

Twenty three years after passing of the resolution of 8th January 1953, and 21 years after the expulsion of many T.I.S.I. Sangam members, B. Raman of Lovu, invited the parent body of T.I.S.I. Sangam to hold its Annual General Meeting during the Easter Holidays at the Lovu Sangam Temple Committee from 16th to 18th April 1976. Credit should go to Lautoka Valibar Sangam for making its a grand success and bringing everyone together. A very powerful speech by Senator Jai Ram Reddy removed the last bit of differences and after 23 years on 18th April 1976 the revival of Sangam took place with Perumal Goundar as new General Manager. All those who were expelled in the past were reinstated.

This Conference brought about the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the Sangam from 8th October to 10th October 1976. A 500 page commemoration volume was published. In this volume we find that 16 pages of the published materials are in Tamil. The present General Secretary of the Sangam is N.K. Naidu. A section of the Tamils in Fiji feel that Sangam is at present dominated by non-Tamils.

Economic Conditions of the Tamils

A majority of the Tamil are agriculturists. A majority of these agriculturists have taken lands on lease. They all lead a tolerably happy life. Some of them own 10 acres of land and some of them even own tractors. They live in decent houses. Two out of three persons are owning radios, one out of twenty has video, and one out of forty has a car. Compared to the agriculturists in Tamilnadu, the Fiji Tamil agriculturists are much more richer.

Some of the Tamils work in shops owned by Gujaratis. Generally we find Tamil servants work in Gujarati houses. Some of the Tamils are working in Textile factories.

Some South Indians are also occupying high positions. R.N. Nair is in civil service and was formerly Fiji High Commissioner in Australia. Manikkam Pillai is an Advocate-General of the Ministry. A famous lawyer Jayerama Reddy worked as the Chairman of Law Commission and till recently as Advocate-General. Rich and wealthy traders like Y.P. Reddy, S.M. Reddy, M.N. Naidu and N.K. Naidu are also living in Fiji.

Religion and Temples of the Tamils

South Indians have more Temples than North Indians in Fiji. Many North Indians are Sanatanists and Aryasamajis

sTs. Pillaiyar, Subramaniyer (Nandi), Lambossa Perumal Sakti, Mariamman, Kaliamman,. Big Hare Krishna Temples are there in Fiji. If you enter any one of these Temples usually you find South Indian *Bhaktas* inside the Temple shouting in chorus "Govinda; Govinda" Hence the Fijians generally describe the South Indians as "Govinda, Govinda" Some Fijians also visit our Temples, but do not visit these Temples with *bhakti* (devotion or reverence for our Gods). Because all of them are Christians. But some of the Fijians who have married South Indians worship our Gods with equal reverence. North Indians too visit our Temples with devotion and *Bhakti*.

Gurukkal (Temple priest) perform before the deity Camphor *Arati* and *Archana*, Chanting *mantras* in Sanskrit. The idol is washed and bathed and then garlanded. Then *Arati* is shown, *Bhajans* are also performed. Ramayanam is read and recited. Some Tamil *Bhajan* songs also can be heard.

Maha Devi Mariamman Temple

This Temple in Suva was built by Kandan Pujari, and Rengaswami Naidu. The following were the names of the priests of this Temple. 1923-25 Kandan *Pujari*; 1926-45 'Subbiah *Pujari*'; 1946-57 Vannara Munusami; 1958-63 Munisami *Pandaram*; 1964- Rattina Swami Naidu; 1965 Veerasami *Pujari*; 1966 Rattina Swami Naidu. Temple *Puja* is performed daily morning between 6-30 and 7-00 A.M., evening at 6.30 P.M. and *Aradhana* and *Puja* for devotees between 7 a.m and 9 pm.

Fire Walking Festival

The annual fire walking ceremony commences in the month of August (normally coincides with the 2nd term school holidays). The festival lasts for ten days- starting

on Thursday and finishing on Sunday. The first fire walking took place on June 16, 1928. Then Subbiah Pujari, Rangaswami Naidu, Ramasamy, Kandan and Natesan Mudaliar were the first to walk on fire.

On Thursday at 6 P.M. the *Guru Puja* is conducted in remembrance of Subbiah *Pujari*. Between 9 and 11 P.M. *Abhishekam* for the Goddess is conducted with milk, curd, honey, turmeric water and finally water. After wiping the deity with a sacred cloth, she is decorated with new sarees, ornaments and flowers. The first *Puja* for the main deity is conducted between midnight on Thursday and 1 A.M. on Friday.

On Friday morning around 10' O clock a flag is hoisted for Madurai Veeran deity. In the evening a *Puja* is conducted for the deity with the accompaniments of *Udukkai* and *Dabla*. During the *Puja* if any one of the devotees is possessed by the deity and comes out stating that the binding of *kangan* can go ahead, the Chief Priest starts officiating *kangan* binding. If none of the devotees is possessed, the Chief Priest waits for the fall of a flower from the deity. In the following order *Kangan* is tied around the wrist: The statue of Lord Ganesha, Mahadevi, *Soolam*, other deities, Chief Priest, Dharma Kartha, President of T.I.S.I. Sangam, Suva (if willing) and the devotees.

From Saturday to next Friday the *kangan* bound devotees with the *Soolam* go from house to house and perform *puja* between 8 am. to 4 pm. On return they give to the Temple rice, fruits and money collected in *hundi* from the well wishers and public.

Around 11 pm. on Friday night *shakti kargam* comes back from the seaside with the devotees chanting and playing

dapla and *shehnai.* When they are half way from the temple, Dhraupati Amman with two persons marked as man and woman go and accompany the *Shakti kargam* to the Temple. The devotees and public are fed by the Sangam Committee on Friday evening.

On Saturday night the South India dance-drama *Therukoothu* starts at 8.30 pm. Between 11 and 11.30 pm DhraupatiAmman statue is carried on the shoulders by the devotees and *Agni kargam* carried by the priest. They go round the Temple 3 times and the *Agnikargam* will be kept in front of Amman. The Chief Priest in the presence of the President of T.I.S.I. Sangam, Suva (sometimes National President), Dharma Kartha and Other Committee members starts the Havan. The devotees chanting 'Govinda' join the Havan. They start lighting camphor and add this to the firewood decked in the fire pit. This is done around midnight.

At 6 am in the morning of Sunday the *Theukoothu* ends. The *Kangan* bound devotees go to the seaside for bath and arrive at the Temple at 7 am. The devotees take light food like milk and fruit. In the meantime the entrance to the Temple, the pathway to the Temple and the surroundings of the Temple are decorated with festoons made of mango, neem and coconut leaves. Between 2 and 3.30 pm to entertain the public (waiting to witness the firewalking) the Committee usually organizes cultural programmes.

The fire walkers at the seaside after taking bath decorate *Agni and Ganga Kargams.* After applying the holy ash, *Kungumum* and *chandan,* they pierce their skin with skewers and *soolams.* Around 4.30 pm the Chief Priest and other devotees carrying the *Shakti Kargam,* the *Agni Kargam* and the *Ganga Kargam* get into the fire pit after leaving the

seaside around 3.00 pm. They walk on fire three times, each time going around the Temple.

At 9.00 AM. on Monday morning *Shakti Kargam, Agni Kargam* and *Soolam* are taken to seaside for a *puja*. Devotees have their *Kangans* removed then. From the seaside, the devotees get sea water in holy brass vessels to sprinkle and perform *Shanti* in and around the Temple. In the evening most of the devotees leave the Temple Campus.

After a week, the following Sunday the devotees, public and the priest offer *Koozhu* to *Amman*. During that time *Amman* is decorated nicely with new clothes, flowers and ornaments. After the *Koozhu*, the dresses, flowers and the offerings from the altar of Amman will be taken and mixed with sea water. On the same day around 3.30 pm. the flag in-front of the Temple will be lowered. A grand final *puja* is solemnised for the Madurai Veeran Deity and Lord Ganesh. Thus the ceremony finally ends.

Fire-walking is a form of Penance and worship peculiar to the South Indians. Some of them still continue to observe this with seriousness and religious fervour; for them it is not a show piece. And, for those devotees, who go to these Temples on the occasion of Fire-walking this ceremony is still a religious one, eventhough only a few devotees may actually walk on fire as a form of penance. Today in Fiji firewalking ceremony is performed in around 40 Temples. Of the several Temples dedicated Mother (Kali, Mari, Gangamma) the following are well known: Navatu Mariamman Temple in Ba, Suva Mahadevi Temple, Malole Mariamman Temple, Uciwai Mariamman Temple and Lovu Sangam Temple. Apart from such comparatively bigger Temples, several smaller ones are there in private homes, where several other people, visit to offer their prayers. During the festi-

vals "*Therukkoothu*", a popular Dance - drama form peculiar to South India is a popular feature. The themes of these '*Therukkotthu*' are based on stories from the puranic stories. This is one way they try to keep up the ancient Tamil culture.

Muruga and Thaipusam

Fiji Balaganapathy says: "The Tamil word *Thirunal* is used here in Fiji referring to the festival here, actually means a holy day. Whenever we think of God, the time, the place and even the person becomes holy atleast for the moment. And thus Hindus have chosen hours, days, weeks and months and even cycles years for festivals in order to sublimate the human nature and powers and divert and direct them towards God. This is the background of all festivals in general".

The main festivals at Lord Murugan (Subramanya) Temples in Fiji are *Kritikai* day (a regular monthly feature), *Panguni Uthiram* in April, *Agni Nakshatram* in May, *Vaikasi Visakam* in June, *Skanda Sashti* in November-December and *Thai Poosam* in January. *Adi Amavasai*, *Thai Amavasai*, Vishu or Tamil New year Day are also important days for the Temple.

Nadi Sangam Temple, established 80 years ago, is dedicated to Lord Muruga or Lord Subramanya. In Nadi the *Thirunal* is held on one major occasion and on two other occasions. The major festival is held about Christ - mas - early New year. This festival falls closely following the waxing moon in the Tamil month of *Thai*. *Thai* is the harvest season in Tamilnadu. Here in Fiji cane harvest would have ended by this time. The climax of the festival falls on the full moon day when the moon is nearest to

the star of the month - *Poosam*. Hence this festival is called "*Thai Poosam*" festival. Infact Hindu society has founded many festivals, especially during the full moon days of almost everymonth. *Chitra Pournami* festival, *Vaikasi Visakam* festival, *Avani Avittam, Masi Magam* festival, *Panguni uttram* festival, *Thirukkarthigai* festival, *Margazhi Arudra Darsanam* etc. And in *Thai* month the full moon is nearest to the star called *Poosam*.

Thai Poosam festival in Fiji has become very popular also because of the year - the season when there is no cane-cutting. Farmers have their holiday. Then they have time for thinking of their culture, their religion. This ten days festival starts with the hoisting of the flag (*Kodi Etram* . Then special *Pujas* and offerings are made every day. Hundreds from all parts of Fiji come and offer their *Puja*.

One very special form of offering to Lord Murugan is to fast for a period (this may vary according to persons, their age and their own likes and dislikes). The main part is to fast, purify body and mind as possible and carry some offering in specially designed carrier called *Kavadi*. *Kavadi* is a semi circular carrier carried on the shoulder with or without Lord Muruga's pictures or statues or and peacock feathers on either side and these, well protected by special canopy. The mouth of the one who carries the offering: usually some milk and sugar, is generally closed indicating a form of self - control.

After sunset the deity placed on a specially decorated chariot is drawn in procession through the main streets of the town and nearby suburbs. When God comes near their homes the devotees offer their prayers and their special

offerings to God. All the ten days the devotees and visitors are given *Prasadams. Prasadam* is holy sanctified food that gives peace.

The expenses and the responsibility for feeding and conducting special *pujas* are met mainly by people of different areas of the Nadi District. In a way Nadi District plays host to devotees. Neighbouring districts too play their part. Devotees from all over Fiji come to Nadi Temple during this *Thirunal.* For this Temple is the national Temple for all devotees of Murugan.

Karthigai Deepam is an annual festival in the month of *Karthigai* on the day of the full moon. Every month has the *Karthigai puja* with special decorations and procession within the Temple. But on the full moon day of the Tamil month *Karthigai* (November - December) the Fijian Tamils have a grand festival at the Temple. Members of 3 families in Sabete contribute to this special annual festival. This festival is connected with Lord Shiva and Subramaniyan. The *Karthigai* constellation 'Pleiades' stands for the six angels or heavenly ladies who were the foster mothers to Lord Muruga, when he was born as six babies from the six sparks from the Third Eye of Lord Shiva. These foster Mothers were blessed to become the constellation, and the devotees of Murugan remember *Karthigai* constellation every month, especially during the annual *Karthigai* festival.

*Kanda - Shashti (*or *Skanda Shashti)* The sixth day of the waxing moon during every month is a holy day. In the month of October - November this sixth day *(Shashti)* is the day when Lord Murugan put an end to the atrocities of the demon Surapadman, (a personification of ego). This festival is also specially celebrated at the Nadi temple. This festival is fully supported by the family members of

late M.N. Naidu, who was a devotee of Lord Subramaniyam and one of the founder members of the Sangam in Fiji.

Largest Temple in Fiji Opens

School children officially had the day off - and every-one else seemed to take it any way - as most of the Hindus of Nadi and the surrounding towns gatherd at the Sri Siva Subramaniya Swami temple on Friday July 15th 1994 to witness the Maha kumbhabhishekam of their new national temple. The high point came at 8-30 A.M as a helicopter first slowly circled the temple, then showered flowers upon the temple. Priests and devotees while the saered water was poured over the very top of the three story main sanctum by chief guest satguru Sivaya Subramaniya Swami and temple priest Sadasivan Gurukkal. A few minitus later the exquisite life size deity of Lord Muruga (Karthikeya) as a sannyasin monk (DandayutapaniSwami, as enshrined at Palani Hills temple in Tamil Nadu was brought to life with more sanctified water. Shouts of "HaroHara" and "Vel Vel, Shakti vel" rose from the assembled devotees. The entire event was broad cast live on all Fiji radio.

The concrete, brick and mortar building has been carefully decorated from top to bottom, and all the Sculpted images on the building's towers are lovingly rendered in brilliant colors Most notable are the ceiling scenes (top) painted Michelangelo style from a scaffold. It is just outside the sanetum, showing Muruga with six faces riding on his peacock. In the middle left photo is aceling lotus made of plaster and painted. And below is an elephant on the side of the staircase leading to the inner sanctum.

This US 1.2 million temple, Fijis largest represents a decided resurgence of Hinduism in Fiji, and a regaining of

confidence in the islands future by the Hindus. That confidence was shaken by the coups of a few years ago, the imposition of a constitution guranteeing Fijian dominance in the political system arson attacks against five Hindu temples and the beating of a priest. Native Fijians (who are Christians) and ethnic Indians are approximately equal in population at 350,000 each.

Five priests and nagasvaram troupe were flown from India. Jayalakshimy Kandiah's Natanalaya dance troupe of eight were brought from Australia. The head priest of the dedication, 72 year old Sivachariya Thiyagaraj of Thirukalikundram [see sidebar] told that this was his 1.118 th Kumbhabhishekam. It is an indication of the world wide enlivening of Hinduism that this last year has been his busiest with a total of 60 temple dedications in India, Malaysia, Fiji and other countries.

The original Sri Siva Subramaniya Swami temple of Nadi was founded by Ramaswami pillai 1913 on land leased from the native Fijians. That lease expired recently, and it was decided to move the temple to a more secure location at the other end of town on leased government land. After 20 years of on again, off again effort ground was broken on September 12th 1991

The renowned architect V. Ganapathi Sthapati at Madras India was commissioned to create the largest Hindu temple not only in Fiji, but in the Southern hemisphere. It is also the largest between India and Texas. Ganapathi has designed many temples in the USA, Canada, England, Australia and India. In 1992 he sent Sri Palanisami to be resident architect and to supervise seven Indian silpis traditional temple craftsmen and one painter working on the concrete and mortar building. The temple follows all of the tradi-

tional agamic scriptures of South India, one of a landful of orthodox temples outside of India to do so.

Sri Siva Subramaniya Swami Temple is owned by the then India Sanmarga Ikya Sangam of Fiji the largest Hindu Fiji organization on the islands operating 26 schools and a number of temple Sri Y. P. Reddy the Sangam's national president called the temple "our gift to the nation" Many people worked hard to make the temple a reality including Sri N. R. Ponnu Swamy Gounder, reconstruction committee secretary Sangam General Secretary Thiru N.K. Naidu and the other members of the reconstruction committee Gopalan Khanna Vidya Subramani Viswanathan Gounder and Navaneeta Gounder one of the priests brought from India. Thiru Ravi Gurukkal Chief priest of the famed Thiruttani Murugan temple, Congragulated the entire Indian community. He said "Though you migrated so forso many years ago, you have remained very religious minded".

(Hinduism Today (North America); Sep 1994)

Govinda! Govinda!! The festival of Purattasi-Sani

Hindus, especially of South Indian origin in Fiji, celebrated 4 or 5 Saturdays in the Tamil month of Purattasi (in September - October). This Saturday festival is observed in devotion to Lord Vishnu, in the name of Venkatesha Perumal the main deity in the most famous Temple Tirupati in Andhra Pradesh, India.

Just as Saivites (worshippers of Siva) consider Monday as a special day for worshipping Siva, devotees of Murugan consider Tuesdays and Fridays as special days for fasting and worshipping Murugan, devotees of Devi observe fast and worship Lakshmi on Friday, likewise devotees of Vishnu

consider Saturdays as specially holy to fast and worship Vishnu.

Vishnu has a thousand names. Rama, Krishna, Venkatesa Perumal are Vishnu's well known names. The Tamil month of *Purattasi* follows *'Avani* the month in which Lord Krishna was born, the month in which *Krishnashtami* falls. In *Purattasi* every saturday the Hindus of South Indian origin in Fiji observe *purttasi-sani* festival *purattasi sani* means the saturday in the month of *purattasi.* The number of saturdays in this month may be 4 or 5. This festival devoted to Venkatesa Perumal is observed in Fiji just as Vishnu devotees in South India observe this. Among the indentured Labourers of Fiji a considerable number also come from areas near or near about Tirupati which was the northernborder of Tamilnadu. And these have brought with them the highest traditions connected with Tirupati and Venkatesa Perumal to Fiji.

During this month of *purattasi* the devotees abstain from drinks and meat eating. After their bath they go to the nearest Venkatesa Perumal and offer their Prayers Singing of hymns (holy songs) forms yet another part. In this they repeat the holy names of Lord Vishnu.

Another special feature of this festival is to light a lamp and keeping this at the centre the devotees to round it singing the praise of Vishnu. Because Light represents all that we regard as knowledge, power, purity, guide etc.

Some devotees observe fasts of different kinds and forms. Some may eat only one meal a day or take just the *Prasadam* etc. and in such ways they try to control their senses so that their mind can be directed towards things and ideas beyond just this physical body.

'Govinda, Govinda' - shouting this particular name of Perumal is often repeated during this festival, especially when the *Arati* is shown or when the coconut is broken when the *prasadam* is offered, when the 'light' is taken round. According to Swami Rudrananda the word 'Govinda' reveals a deeper meaning. '*ko*' in Tamil means the King or the Lord, '*indha*' in Tamil means 'Here it He is' Insum it means "Here the Lord is. The Lord is just here. Nowhere else need you go in search of Him; He is here, in you, in us."

Another feature during the observance of this festival in Fiji is to put on the '*Namam*' a mark on the forehead: two white lines joined at the base like the 'U' or the 'Y' and a red line in the middle.

Generally the Tamils in Fiji show interest in Tamil music, dance, *therukkoothu* and in Tamil festivals. Still they cannot be considered as having the same amount of religious fervour as the Tamils of Tamilnadu. They wear sandal paste *tilak* or *Vibhuti* only while performing *pujas*. But they do not wear these on the forehead while coming out in public places. Even the Tamil ladies do not wear *tilak* on their foreheads.

Name Their Children After Hindu Gods

Like the Tamils of Tamilnadu the Fiji Tamils also name their children after Hindu Gods. Generally the most popular names are Murugan, Velayudan, Kumaran, Guhan, Subramanian, Siva, Subramaniam, Subbaiya, Palaniappa, Thanikachalam, Tiruvengadam, Venkatachalapathi, Perumal, Arunachalam, Shanmukam, Shanmuka Sundaram, Shanmuk Eswaran, Kandha Swami, Nagarajan, Naganathan, Krishna-Sivakumaran, Nandakumaran, Harikrishna, Raman, Narayanan, Gopalan, Govindan, Kesavan, Madhavan, Madhusu

danan, Sridharan, Damodar, Narasimhan, Achuthan, Upendran, Sivan, Sivam, Muniappa, Muniswami, Ramswami, Vetri Velan, Vetrivel, Natarajan, Rangarajan, Ranganathan and Rangaswami. Ladies have usually following names: Valli, Valliamma, Parvati, Mahesvari, Rangamma, Krishnamma, Muthatha, Ratnavel, Radha, Rukmini, Lakshmi, Lokeshvari, Kali, Kaliamma, Thangamma, Ponnama, Rathnamma, Manikkamma, Kannamma, Unnamalai, Ilangattamma, Paramma, Meeramma, Panjali, Sitamma, Govindamma, Muruhamma, Krishnamma, Chinnamma, Rajamma, Venkatamma, Meenakshi, Kamakshi, Visalakshi, Pachchamma, Muththamma Theyamma, Annammai, Pichchamma, Kuppamma, Ponnamma and Gangamma. Generally, we find them using names associated with Siva, Muruga, Vishnu and *Sakthi*.

Caste Surnames:

Some have caste surnames. For example Muthuswamy Iyer, Munsammy Reddy. Even ladies have caste surnames e.g. Muniamma Gounder, Lakshmi Reddy, Sita Iyer. Usually they have along with their names, both men and women caste surnames like Iyyar, Gounder, Naidu, Reddy, Nayar, Nayakkar, Pillai and Mudaliar. However generally we don't find much caste feeling in this country. Some do not even know that their surnames are caste names. Caste considerations do not figure much during matrimonial alliances. South Indians marry even north Indians. However in recent years some indicate caste awarness in their behavioural pattern. Hence some of these love describing themselves as 'Pillais'.

Tamil Journals

A ten page manuscript journal titled '*Mitran*' is circulating since 1858. Journals and magazines in Tamil come

from Malaysia, Sri Lanka and Tamilnadu. *Anandavikatan*, *Kalki* and *Kumudam* are available in the market, but there are not many buyers for these magazines.

Thanks to Swami Rudrananda's efforts *Ramayana* and *Tirukkural* have been translated into Fijian language. Swamiji was bringing out three journals (1) A weekly known as *Pacific Review* in English (2) A Hindi magazine known as (*Jagriti*': 3) and a Tamil monthly known as *Sangam*. In the beginning R.K. Pandaram imported and showed Tamil films. Now Tamil video films are available in the market. Even non tamils appreciate and see these Tamil films Actress like Sri Devi are popular.

Tamils Are Changing

Fiji Tamils dress habits have also changed to a certain extent. Invariably Tamil teachers working in schools wear sarees. Children wear gowns and Tamil ladies working in plantations wear gowns which cover their neck and flowing full towards their feet. Ladies have long hairs but don't have nose rings and generally wear less jewels. They wear *Tilak* on occasions. We don't find flower shops in Fiji and therefore women wear flowers only on a few occasions. Men preferwestern dress and in their homes a majority wear shorts or *sulu* of Fiji (a kind of *Lungi*). Some men wear dhoties. On occasions men wear *Vibhuthi*. Tamils use less chillies and eat less hot food and almost all of them eat chappathi too, which is especially taken during lunch. In some places like Ba, Lautaka we get in hotels (eg. M.N. Naidu's Hotel at Lautaka) *Iddly* and *masala dosai*. Invariably Tamils take tea in the afternoon.

Fijians call all Indians including Tamils as Indians. They don't discriminate between North Indians and South Indians because all Indians speak Hindi. Some Fijians

speak Tamil and Hindi. Very rarely Tamils marry Fijians. Fijians generally do not wear our type of sarees or clothes. Very few Fijians work in the shops owned by the Tamils or other Indians. Generally Indians call the Fijians as "*Junglee*" which means not much civilized.

Changing Politilal Condition

Fijians are good natured people. They don't hate the Tamils. Still recently a few Fijians have resented Indian domination in Fiji. Their resentment manifested in 1987. On April 11, 1987 elections were held in Fiji. In this the Indians were voted to power. But this success of the Indians was not liked by some influential Fijians. Hence on May 14, 1987 Col. Rabuka after a coup 'de' tat removed the Indian rule, and established a military rule. The actions of Rabuka indicate his unwillingness to tolerate the dominance of the Indians in all walks of life. Still Rabuka do not hate the Tamils and has permitted the Tamils to teach their language in Fiji as in the previous regime. The recent changes in Fiji has resulted in the migration of some educated Indians including Tamils to Newzealand and Australia. Even Tamil Advisor Balaganapathy has gone to Newzealand andNirgunan as Tamil Advisor. According to some Tamils Uma Nirgunan is trying to introduce Sir Lankan Tamil dialect in Sangam Schools, which they do not welcome.

Fiji's new constitution was condemned as racist and undemocratic by the Fiji Indians and the Indian Government because it guaranteed indigenous Fijians a majority in the 70 seat Assembly. After the initial misunderstanding the Indian dominated Fiji Labour Party (FLP) lifted the boydott imposed over the new constitution and decided to participate in elections. T. I. S. I. (Then India Sanmarga

Ikiya Sangam) even announced in October 1991 that it had decided to introduce the teaching of the Fijian language in Sangam Schools to contribute towards multiracial and multicultural harmony in Fiji. Hence this changing structure is gradually accepted by the Indians including Tamils and together along with the Fijians they are struggling to construct a multi-racial, multi-cultural society.

Mauritius

Popularly known as "Little India", Mauritius is not known to many people in Tamilnadu. This far famed island lies in one of the most strategic positions. In the Indian Ocean in latitude 20°5 and longitude 57°E The distance between Mauritius and India is about 4,000Km but from Bombay it is 5,000 Km. Mauritius is only 1,800Km away from the African Continent and 300Km from Malagsasy Republic Mauritius consists of nine provinces and its capital is Port Louis.

Tamilnadu-Mauritius Relations

Early History

The name Mascarenes is applied to a group of three islands situated roughly on the 20th parallel of South latitude. From West to East they are the island of Reunion or Bourbon with an area of 2,512 sq. Km, Mauritius or the Ilede France, with about 2,100 sq. Km, and Rodrigues and Mauritius are only 100 nautical miles apart; the journey takes less than twelve hours by ship and less than three quarters of an hour by a fast aircraft.

The first men to sight Maurtius were probably Malay sailors but unfortunately no historical evidence or sea maps are available. About the 10th century or earlier Mauritius came in contact with the Arabs who were probably the first to record it on their sea charts and the islands of Mascarenes were named as Dunia-al-Aroba which due to misprono-unciation came to be known as Dina Robin. The Arabs only visited the islands on their route of migration but did not make and attempt to settle in them.

The Portuguese in 1498 in their zeal to expand their commerce entered the Indian Ocean In the year 1507 the two Portuguess navigators Domingo Fernnadez and Pedro Mascarenhas discovered the three islands of Mauritius,

Rodriguez and Reunion. They were named after Pedro Mascarenhas and even today are known as the Mascarene islands; Mauritius was named as Cerne . The Portuguese also did not make any s ettlement in Mauritius.

For the first time in the 17th Century Dutch and the French came and settled in Mauritus. After the departure of the Dutch from Mauritius in 1710 the French ruled for more than hundred years Mascarenes islands Seychelles and Chagos islands. In 1810 after its defeat France gave all these islands except Reunion island to Great Britain. Hence in 1810 Mauritus and the islands lying on the east of Madagascar came under the rule of Great Britain.

The Dutch did not try to develop Mauritius. Only the French worked for the development of Mauritius.

Coming of the Tamils and the French

According to Moonendranth Varma even before the Portuguse came to Mauritius Indians knew about the existence of Mauritius. Even before the beginning of the Christian era Indian traders who were sailing in Indian Ocean went to this island also. Indians went to this country, while going to Madagascar.

In the 18th century when Mauritius came under French colonial domination, the French brought some Indians from Reunion to Mauritius. Noticing that the Indians were capable and hardworking the French brought more Indians to Mauritius in 1729.

During this period the French domination of Pondicherry and Chandranagore was complete. Hence it was not difficult to export labour from these French Tamil colonies.

Especially skilled labourers and artisans were sent from these places in Tamilnadu to Mauritius. And especially since 1731 Tamils began to migrate from these places and went and settled in Mauritius.

African and Malagasay slaves also were to brought to Mauritius. But these African slaves were not skilled and depended only on manual labour. But the French needed also carpenters, and other skilled artisans. Hence the demand for this type of skilled Tamilians who came settled and helped the French to build modern Mauritius. Infact, it can be stated. that only because the Tamils helped, the French did not leave Mauritius like the Dutch Especially when Labourdonnais became the Governor of Mauritius in 1735, Indian labourers and other skilled Indians were brought in large numbers to Mauritius. Engineers, Goldsmith, merchants, white collared workers, informers, industrialists, office assistants and agricultural labourers came in large numbers from Tamilnadu to Mauritius.

The Tamils helped the French in laying down roads and constructions of houses, colonies and forts. Tamils also joined hands in improving ship building industry and harbours. Even today in Port Louis harbour we can see the buildings constructed by the Tamils. The sugarcane, cotton and indigo were produced in large quantity with the help of Tamil labour. Sugarcane mills also appeared and developed.

During the time of the last French Governor Charles Decaen (1803-1810) also many Indians, including some rich Indians, migrated to and settled in Mauritius some of them joined Government service and became administrators; while some started mills and factories.

During the French rule Port Louis was divided among three races. In the Eastern part the Indians lived. this

part was known as Camp des Malabars. In the middle part whites lived. When the number of Government servants increased, when Indian private business multiplied, Port Louis structure began to change. Many shops were opened vegetable vendors, and other vendors *(pittu vendors)* began to wander through the streets selling their goods. Indians began to work in government offices and mingled with the Christian population. Infact Indian soldiers were used by the French against the British four times in their wars.

Tamils During British Rule

In 1810 when the British invaded French Mauritius Indian soldiers including Tamil soldiers went with the British. Hence Tamils also were to a certain extent responsible for British victory in Mauritius. Thaninayaga Adigallar says that he saw a record in which Tamilans Savarimuttu, Chinntambi, Doraisammy have signed in Tamil a record belonging to the period of 1810 after the British capture of Mauritius. Soon after the establishment of British rule in Mauritius 800 & Indian prisoners of war were brought to Mauritius by the British. Thess prisoners were used to weave silk sarees and to lay roads. It is recorded that these prisoners behaved with dignity and self-respect.

During the beginning of the French rule primary importance was given to agricultural department. But during the later periods the French gave primary importance to trade and commerce. However after the inauguration of the British rule in Mauritius in 1810 sugarcane plantations began to increase. Hence Indian coolies were once again brought from India. Along with them Tamil coolies also came.

Abolition of Slavery Inspires Emigration

In the words of Sir Charles Bruce, "Ever since the abolition of slavery the substitution of Asiatic for African labour with its consequences has dominated the political history of Mauritius. In appreciating the policy of protected Asiatic immigration, it must be constantly borne in mind that inview of the refusal of the African population to carry on the elementary labour of agriculture on the estates, there was practically no alternative but the abandonment of the island, which would certainly have reverted to France. It is possible that at a time when the British government was seriously contemplating the secession by consent of her colonies such an alternative might have been admitted, but it is certain that, in the revival of colonial enterprise and the struggle for the control of the Tropics, we would not withstand the modern trade rout of Suez Canal have found our imperial interests hardly less seriously compromised by such an action at the close of the nineteenth century, than they were at the close of the 18th-Coincidently the same policy controlled by the same method saved our West Indian islands, which but for the migration from India, most have gone out of cultivation. They would, beyond all doubt. have passed into the hands of the United States and carried with them undisputed. Supremacy in the Carribean sea". (Bruce, p352)

Fitness of Indian Labourers

The Government of India deputed Grierson to enquire keeping in view the wants of the tropical colonies and the fitness of the East Indian labourers. In his report he said "the colonies importing Indian labour are in the belt of the tropics. The only exception is Natal, which is sub-tropical. The conditions of life in these colonies are much the same

viz an equable climate free from sudden or extreme variation, and an amazing fertility. The original natives of these countries, living for generations where life without labour was easy and pleasant, have developed into a type of human beings peculiarly unfitted for the higher forms of cultivation of the soil. When therefore, European enterprise attacked these countries with the hope of carrying off the richer products of the earth the indigenous natives were found unsuited for aiding them in the work. Coolie labour had accordingly to be introduced, and the only places where suitable labour was found to be available were India and China"

"Both these countries are sub-tropical the greater portion being out side the tropical belt. Here the conditions of life are very different the climate is anything but equable and is subject to sudden and extreme variation. At one time the country is deluged by rain, at another parched for months together. Here life is impossible without labour. The most elaborate precautions have to be taken to obtain even a probable of chance of raising a moderate crop and the result is that the inhabitants of India and China, have in the course of generations, developed into human beings possessing considerable agricultural skill and a wonderful capacity for continuous hard work. The Indian's whole life is one long labour ——— he never has a moment's rest. When an Indian coolie is transported to a tropical colony he finds himself in a place quite beyond his experience, he finds a soil capable of yielding good crops with hardly any cultivation, and he naturally applies to it all the labour and all the skill and industry inherent in him. The result is an out turn such as would be impossible in India, and such as he had never even dreamed of before. Subsequently

experience confirms his first impression, and he rightly considered that he has found a place free from Cholera and famine of a warm equable climate here his natural industry if righty applied, makes its possessor in a few years the owner of a large fortune" (Ibid. p. 315)

"Such was in brief the origin of Coolie emigration from India to the tropical colonies. The European enterprise on the one hand instant need of a steady and continuous supply of labour and on the other a vast population, skilful, industrious and frugal, yet chronically on the limits of starvation exposed to constant outbreaks of Cholera and to frequent famines and without prospect of ever bettering their conditions or raising themselves above a daily struggle for existence" (Ibid.p319)

Recruitment of Coolies

In 1834 G C. Arbuthnot on behalf of Hunter Arbuthnot lco of Mauritius recruited 36 Hill coolies to work upon a sugar estate, the property of Hunter Arbuthnot lco for the term of 5 years. Permission to land these 36 hill coolies was granted on the 3rd November 1834.

They were to be paid Rs. 5.00 per month for each man and Rs. 4-00 for each woman. But no woman accompanied this batch. Clause 5 provided that each man per day will be supplied fixed food of 2 lbs of rice and each women 1½ lbs. of dholl 2 oz of salt and some oil and tamarinds and annualy for each clothing as follows: 4 dhoties, 1 sheet, 2 blankets, 1 jacket, 2 caps.

On 2nd December 1842, the Emigration Act was passed, regulating the emigration from the territories under the Government of East India Company to the island of Mauritius. It should be noted that in 1842 the territories of

the East India Company extended only upto Bengal, Bihar, part of Eastern UP, Madras and Bombay Presidency and in the south after the defeat of Tipoo Sultan, a part of Karnatak. Emigration was permitted only from the ports of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, where the Emigration agents were appointed under license.

The first ship after the passing of the Emigration Act to reach Port Louis was Emerald isle, which arrived on 23rd January 1843 with 233 adults and three children. During 1843, 30,218 men, 4307 women came to Mauritius. To supervise the transactions of these agencies the Protector of Emigrants was appointed by the East India Company. He was to aid and advise all emigrants, to enforce the provisions of the Emigration Act, and all the rules made under it He was to inspect all the vessels which used to take the immigrants to the distant lands and also bring them back and enquire about the difficulties and hardships that they used to face in their journey.

The Emigration Agencies used to appoint recruiters who had to obtain a license. These recruiters used to go to the Villages where they used to recruite the labour, by enticement, by force and other means and of course some of them used to willingly volunteer. Every person who agreed to emigrate was given a statement signed by the emigration agent, countersigned by the Protector of Emigrants. This was a contract which gave the terms on which the person agreed to emigrate. The person was registered in the office of the Protector with all such particulars as to his person and history enough to establish his identity. After his registration and an agreement was signed and executed in triplicate by the recruiter, the person intending to emigrate and it was attested by the Registrar or the Protector of Emigrants

Arrival in Mauritius

These emigrants were brought to Mauritius by special ships. On arrival at the immigration depot a large yard with old stone buildings, grey and sombre looking, left over from the French period, these emigrants underwent a through medical checkup after which they were registered, with complete details their name, caste, sex, the district and the province they came from and details about their physical appearance and the immigrant was given a number. From now on his name was not important. But the number was. Even today if anyone wants to trace his ancestry, the knowledge of his number is absolutely necessary. At this depot the immigrants stayed for two days, where they were informed about the labour they had to perform and the wages they were to get. As the coolie was ignorant of French and the French planter equally ignorant of the different languages of India, intercourse between them was conducted by through the medium of a class of natives known as *Sirdars*, who were paid a retaining fee.

Recruits From Tamilnadu

In generally Tamils came from Tanjore, Thiruchirapally and Pondicherry. At the time when the French were ruling some of them went as merchants, carpenters, sepoys and artisans. Compared to Tamilnadu and Maharastra, more people came from Bengal. In 1861 from Calcutta Port came 99,670 persons, from Madras Port 56,202 persons, from Bombay Port 15,863 persons to Mauritius Around 1881 from Calcutta Port came 83,120 persons, from Madras Port 39,041 persons and from Bombay Port 7,440 persons to Mauritius Generally all of them came to work in plantations. Between 1862 and 1867 approximately 1000 Tamils came to do business and agricultural work independently as free men.

These came from Chingelput, North Arcot, Coimbatore, South Arcot, Tanjore and Tiruchirappalli. The abolition of slavery, social oppression, exploitation of the land lords and money lenders, decline of trade and industry and famine were the causes responsible for the migration of the Tamils to Mauritius.

Unjust Treatment of Immigrants

Hence after 1810 during the British rule the Tamils came in grater numbers Bombay, Madras and Calcutta Chambers of Commerce selected these coolies from India and sent them to Mauritius. During this time many coolies were cheated. Agreemetns were broken. They were employed for purposes not mentioned in the Agreement. Sometimes even for six months together they were not paid a cent. Usually soon after their arrival the immgrants were taken to the sugar estate were they were housed in square huts made of mud and thatched with grass Usually these huts were situated on the sugar estate itself The immigrants were required to have and always carry with them an identity card with their photograph and a police pass. In case of loss of pass he was fined severely, if not imprisoned.

Beside this on the sugar estates the treatment of immigrants was most unjust, conditions on some of the estates were appaling, Gaol was far better place than many of them. In the words of Rev. Patrick Beaton "with all the vigilance that the local authorities employ there are frequent cases of injustice in the treatment of the coolies. If a labourer happens to be entitled to one day absence from his work, his employer is entitled to exact two days labour in return or to cut of the price of two days labour from his monthly wages. It might be easily shown that this power is liable to gross abuse when exercised by an unprincipled employer whose interest it may be at times to

provoke his labourers to desert his service. When he does not require the labour of all his coolies which happens certain seasons, he may treat some of them in such a way as to lead them to desert, and thus begains a double advantage he escapes from the necessity of nourishing them during their absence and is entitled to cut off two days wages for every day they have been absent when they return. The system of deducting wages is not confined to mere absence. It extends to all possible offences, real or imaginary, and when it is practised by a master ingenious in discovering faults, the poor labourer, at the end of the month often finds himself mulcted of a large portion of his hand won earnings. His only mode of redress is to summon his master before the local magistrate, where, in conseqnence of his ignorance of French, he is placed at a great disadvantage and except in very glaring cases rarely obtains justice". (Rev. Patrick Beaton Creoles, and Coolies, p. 174).

Because of such hardships experienced by the Indian labourers immigration of Indian labourers to Mauritius wes suspended for sometime in 1839. But this affected the planters very much. Hence Indians labourers were again sent to Mauritius from 1840. In 1860 in Mauritius in trade and in factories there were 24, 048 Indians ogriculture 53, 243 Indians.

Balakistna giving an eye witness account said that he saw Lister, who often tied up coolies who made mistakes and flogged them and put salt water on their backs He saw five or six coolies flogged two or three times. Another witness Mooneswamy related this personal experince when he said, "Mr. Lister was a very bad gentleman. He would. sometimes put a rope around my neck and send me to the police. He often beat me with a chembuck tying my hands and pouring salt water on my back". Many of the Indian

labourers when they could not bear the illtreatment any longer committed suicide by putting their heads on the rails and allowing it to be severed by the passing train. Most of the deaths of the labourers took place because of the rupture of the spleen, caused by extensive and merciless beating. The post–Mortem returns from 1865–1872 for the distts. show 114 cases of immigrants killed by machinery or while working on establishments, and 176 cases of persons killed by violence, who died on the spot (Ranbir Singh 1980, 44-45)

Royal Commission

Relating to these illtreatment of Indian labourers, a Royal Commission was appointed on 12th February 1872 under the Chaimanship of Frere and Victor Williamson as member. The report of the Commission was presented to both the Houses of Parliament in England on the 6th February 1875. The following are some of the recommendations of the Commission: 1. The system of double cut in the wages was abolished; 2 payment of wages should be made on the first saturday every month, unless the first day of the month should fall on a saturday, in which case the eightday should be the pay day; 3. the sunday "corvee" was abolished. 4. the migrants should be appointed directly by the Secretary of the State and they should have no interest or connection with the sugar estates and should be independent of local influence etc.

Generally around 1871 Indians were employed as blacksmiths, cart drivers, cart makers, hair-cutters, hawkers, goldsmiths, mat makers. mattresses makers, household goods manufacturers, shopkeepers, labourers, tobacco merchants, wood cutters, gardeners, lamp makers, informers, boat drivers, door keppers, Sirdars etc. Till 1860 Tamils and

other Indians lived mostly in the plantations. After 1860 they began to migrate to towns and cities, but this migration was an unplanned spontaneous movement.

Legal Battles And Maharaj Singh

Gandhi who had taken up the cudgels against the racialism in Africa and had launched a crusade for the rights of the Indians visited Mauritius in 1901. He was the guest of SunniSurti Musulman Society and stayed at Tahir Bagh. He addressed the Indian community and inspired them to fight for their rights and to preserve their cultural heritage Thus Indian leaders like Gandhi Gokhale, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru and others, took up their cause. Gandhi sent Manilal Doctor to guide and pursue the cause of the Indian community in Mauritius He took up the cause of the Indians became their spokesman and fought their legal battles. He brought out a news paper and known as *Hindustani*, which was published in Gujarati and English.

In 1922 an Act was passed. Under this Act each plantation worker was paid Rs.7—per month, plus 750 gram rice, weekly once 250 gram dhall, 275 gram salt fish and 125 gram ghee on oil and 125 gram salt. A labourer may be removed from service after one month's notice, but should not be compelled to live in the sugar cane plantation huts.

With the growing pressure of the national opinion against emigration to the different parts of the British empire, the Government of India appointed Sir Maharaj Singh to enquire into the conditions of Indian labourers in Mauritius. Sir Maharaja Sing arrived in Mauritius on board Humayun on the 19th December 1924. In his stay of 44 days he visited 40 sugar estates out of a total of 100 with

which the immigration dept was concerned along with other estates in every district. He came to the conclusion that the recent immigration had been a failure. He found that the labourers and planters were dissatisfied with each other. Although, according to him recruiting in India was done well, but he noticed that even with a better system of recruitment the labourers could not have been happier, because the wages were too low and the cost of living very high. Another very important thing he noticed was that the substitution of free labour for the indentured labour and dealt a severe blow to immigration He also found that there was no shortage of labour as such. In his stay hecame across unanimous opposition to immigration from independent and thinking Indians in every walk of life. Taking all these points into consideration he recommended that no further emigration be permitted.

Infact Indians had begun to show distinct progress in educational and other aspects (Sir Maharaj Singh). For example in 1910 in Mauritius Indians owned 47,888 acres of land ie. 45. 9 percent of the total lands in Mauritius ere owned by Indians. They owned one third of the sugar plantations in Mauritius; of these 80 percent were owned by Indian agriculturists. In addition the Indians also had saved more money and were sending money to their relatives in India. They were also paying huge taxes to Mauritius government. In addition the Indians owned shops and many vehicles. Further Indian children were going to primary secondary and High schools.

Politics: Role of the Indians

The Royal Commission of 1909 appointed under the Chairmanship of F.A. Swettenham in 1909 came to the conclusion that the constitution of the Colony was such

that it, "allows those who are engaged in the sugar industry to exercise a very powerful influence in legislation and Government. Of the present council of Government, out of the ten elected members four are planters and at least two others are directly interested in sugar estates, while at least three of the five unofficial nominated are Directors of Companies which own such estates" It further concluded that the Indians who constituted 70 percent of the population and "upon whom the prosperity and progress of the future of the Colony must largely depend" were not represented in the council. It said that "no council can legitimately claim to speak authoratatively for Mauritius as a whole which does not contain a substantial proportion of members who represent that hitherto unrepresented community of Asiatic descent which plays such an important part in the life of the Colony and comprises more than two thirds of its population". The members felt very strongly about the strained relationship between the Mauritius Government and the population of Indian descent. It remarked "for about there quarters of a century it has been found possible for the colonial government to regard the Indian as a stranger who must indeed be protected from imposition and ill-treatment and tutored in the exercise of his legal rights, but who has no real claim to a voice in the ordering of the affairs of the Colony" The Commission emphasised that the system of education did not respond to the needs of the society, ant that the mother tongue of the children should occupy an important place in the school curriculum. It also recommended that the Indian marriages performed according to the rites and religion, should be accepted as legal marriages. And lastly it recommended that the qualification relating to franschise should be lowered.

General elections were held in 1925-26 ant it was for the first time in this election that two Indians Dhanput Lallah

and Rajcoomar Gujadhur won. There was a concerted effort to get the Constitution revised but all efforts failed. On 23rd February 1936 Dr Maurice Cure founded the Labour party. Dr S. Ramgoolam, R. Seeneevassen, Guz Rozemont. Emmanuel Anquetil just to name a few outstanding personalities who played a major and important role in the political history of Mauritius later joined the party.

Due to persistent efforts at last the Constitution was ammended on the 21st April 1947 and finally was granted on the 5th June 1947. It provided the franschise to any Mauritian adult to vote provided he could ostensibly write his name and address in English, French, Chinese or one of the oriental languages, or having a yearly income of Rs.250. This gave a sudden rise to the number of the electorate, which rose from 11,799 in December 1947 to 71,723 at the time of the election in 1948. Under this new Constitution elections were held on the 9th and 10th August 1948. Out of 19 seats in the Council 13 were won by the Labour Party and 6 by others. By now the wheel of the political life had completely turned. The Indo-Mauritians who at one time were completely deprieved of the fundamental rights to vote and participate in the political life of the country were now at the top. Labour Party representing the Indo-Mauritians had won a comfortable majority in the Legislative Council. It demanded universal suffrage and responsible government.

In 1953 general elections were held under the constitution of 1948. Labour party once again emerged as the leading party by winning 14 seats out of 19. Ralliemant Mauricien won 2 and independants 3

The Secretary of State for the Colonies on the 15th July 1957 appointed the Electoral Boundary Commission under the Chairmanship of Malcolm Trustram Eve. The Commission presented its report on the 27th January 1958 and recommended 40 single member Constituencies. The Constitution

was further changed. The ministerial system introduced in 1957 was maintained; universal suffrage introduced along with 40 single member constituencies. The election of 1959 was held under this Constitution on the 9th March The results of the election were in favour of the Labour Party which won 23 seats.

The General Election of 1963 was held on the 21st October under the Constitution of 1958. The Labour Party once again emerged as the leading party having won 23 seats. Again under a new Constitution elections were held on 7th August 1967. A Coalition government of Labour Party, CAM and the PMSD was formed.

The long fight for independence came to a close when on 12th March 1968 Mauritius was declared independent. After 150 years of rule the British colonial government came to an end.

Tamils Role In Politics

Tamils occupy important positions in the Mauritius government. Tamil is also used as a second language. Dr. S. Ramgoolam, and Indian Hindu functioned as the Prime Minister for many years. He was succeeded by Anirudh Jagganath. A Mauritiun Tamil by name Veerasamy Ringadoo functions as the Governor of Mauritius, Kadireson Pillai is Minister of Industries. The Education Minister is Arumugam Parasooram. The Labour Party's Secretary General is Vijay Venkatasammy. A Putparatham is working as the Head of the Tamil Divison of the Mahatma Gandhi Institute.

Hence the Tamils have a major state in shaping and building Mauritius. These Tamils worked hard and became wealthy. And through their labour white men also became rich. Today we see in Mauritius green lands, broad and neat highways and roads, beautiful cars and buses, sugar factories a nice harbour busy importing and exporting, in all these we can see the hard work and admirable role of the Tamils.

Tamil Population

A large number of Indians are from Bihar, next in order comes Indian Muslims and Tamils get the third place, followed by the Telugus, Marathis, and Gujaratis. Tamils live in large numbers in Port Louis in North and South East districts. In Port Louis we see Thanjavur street, Tiruchirappalli street, where once upon a time only the Tamils lived. But today many Tamils have lost these streets. Apart from the Indians, we find Creoles, Whites, Chinese, and the Africans in Mauritius. The children born in mixed marriages to Indo-Africans, Euro-Africans, Indo-Europeans, Chinese-Africans, Chinese Creoles are described as Creoles, who speak Creole language. Creoles constitute about one fifth of (380,377) the total population of Mauritius (1983 data)Tamils constitute about one tenth of the total population, Hindi speaking people constitute 3/10 of the population (2,08,450). Urudu speaking people 53,347 and Gujarti speaking Gujaratis 1707 A Putparatham says in 1972 there were a total of 70,000 Tamils. In 3198 those who claimed Tamil as their ancestors mother tongue were 66,154 those who claimed Telugu as their ancestors mother tongue 25,619, But according to Indian Embassy reports today there are one lakh Tamils in Mauritius. Religion wise Hindus constitute 52 percent, (in 1983, 5.07,985 Hindus) Muslims 20 percent. Thus out of the total population of Mauritius Indians constitute 75 percent (in 1983, 6,64,488 Indians).

Tamil Education

Even during the period when the British rule began in Mauritius in 1810 there were separate schools for Indian children in Mauritius. In the beginning three enthusiastic teachers started a Tamil Pial School. They taught Tamil language in the evenings. Around 1865 there were 26 Tamil schools. In 1872 many Tamil books were imported from Tamilnadu.

Decline of Tamil Language

Prof. Rajaram is of the opinion that because plantation owners were all Europeans, and because their co-labourers were African slaves, they were forced to learn Creole language spoken by the African slaves and understood by the Europeans- Hence the utility of Tamil language began to decline. Inspite of this the first generation used mostly tamil. Under the second generation Tamils, Tamil language gained the first place and Creole language second place. Mostly under all circumstances they used Creole language. In their houses they used Tamil, but comparatively on less and less occasions. The family of Fourth generation Tamils used only Creole. They forgot entirely their mother tongue Tamil. The family environment also encouraged this style of life. The Tamils lost Tamil language because of their frustration that Tamil may not get importance and encouragement from the Englishmen. Further the Tamils who were keen on improving their material status and riches believed that only if they learn French or English they would be able to improve their prospects and come up well in life. In addition there was no scope to learn Tamil in Schools. Hence Tamils themselves ignored Tamil language. Inspite of this some Tamil teachers, popularly known as "Vaathiargal" taught Tamil here and there to Tamil children at Pial schools. But in their houses and outside they used only Creole language. In fact, it can be said Creole language has almost become their mother tongue and plays the role of their mother tongue".

Till recently the Tamils of Mauritius never had even Tamil sentiment. Furtheir they till recently described themselves as 'Madras'. The words 'Tamil', Tamilian' have no value in Mauritius Tamil Society today" (A. Putparatham)

Learn Tamil Efforts

After independence Tamil was given a place in the educational plans. But there were no Tamil teachers to those Tamil children, who wanted to learn Tamil. But Tamil teachers from Tamilnadu were brought to Mauritius to teach Tamil to those Tamil teachers who had some knowledge of Tamil. These teachers wrote Tamil text books, which suited Mauritius environment.

In 1954 Tamil was learnt by 50 students. In 1957, 1500 Tamil students learnt Tamil using *Balar Tamil Vasagam*. Tamil Teacher's training was given to 11 teachers. In 1966 well planned Tamil classes were started. In 1967 there were 75 Tamil teaching Schools, 60 Tamil Teachers and 5000 students. On March 12,1968 when Mauritius became independent eastern languages gained new life and status. Tamil language began to blossom under the new enviornment. Annai Kasturi Appan says that today in 175 schools 218 Tamil Teachers are working. 10,000 students are learning Tamil. But according to Indian Embassy report Tamil is taught in 200 primary Schools. Tamil is also taught in some secondary Schools. These Tamils are also receiving from Tamilnadu '*Kalaimagal*' '*Manjari*' and '*Anandaviketan*'

A. Putparatham says: In the primary schools under the Education Ministry we have from class I to class VI where Tamil is taught in a systematic way. All teachers get teacher's training in Teachers Training College. Till 1979 they were given training for a year. From 1979 a two year training course was introduced. During the training period they are taught language, literature, method, education aims, and psychology. All these subjects are taught through Tamil medium. The education department itself gives jobs to those who pass these training courses. In the Training School two

well qualified Tamil teachers are working. All Mauritius Tamil Examination Syndicate conducts separate Tamil examination and gives certificates. On behalf of Madras Students Association a three year course known as Tamilmani' is conducted. The Government gives also help to some who want to go to Tamilnadu for higher education.

Not only in Primary Schools but also in Mahatma Gandhi Institute and in Royal college, Tamil language is taught at higher levels. With the help and co-operation of Indian Government. Mahatma Gandhi Institute was established. This institute also makes arrangement and publishes textbooks in Indian languages. Tamil text books series have already come out. This Institute gets '*Kalaimagal*' '*Manjari*' and '*Anandavikatan*' the famous Tamil magazines. Tamil occupies next to Hindi and Urudu and 8701 Tamil students are learning Tamil under 218 Tamil teachers. Not only in regular Schools even in the evening Schools. Tamils is taught conducted by Mahatma Gandhi Institute. (Prof. Rajaram). Further Mauritius Institute of Education, Mauritius Radio and T.V also teach Tamil. However eventhough in their everyday environment children of Creole or Bojpuri, still in the Schools the medium of instruction is given in foreign languages. Today English is the medium of instruction in High Schools.

Tamil Religion-Culture

Tamil Temples: Thaipusam

There are some Kali temples and Mariamman temples in Mauritius. There are around 125 Hindu temples in Mauritius. We find tamil temples in almost all cities, towns and villages. Murugan, Sivan, Vinayagar, Mariamman, Krishnar, Durga, Rama, Virama Kaliamman, Muneesvarar, MaduraiVeeran and Kanyakumari are the Tamil Gods who

have travelled to Mauritius along with the Tamils. We also find the idols and statues of these Gods in Mauritius. Chokalingam Meenakshi Amman temple is a big temple. In these temples on occasions animal sacrifices are also performed. But now a days this practice is fast declining. The Tamil festival *Thai Pusam Kavadi* is a famous, popular and a big festival. After observing vows of purification people carry *Kavadis*. Along with *Kavadis* they carry *Mavilaku* and *Palkudam*. While carrying *Kavadis* women wear ,yellow clothes and men wear ochre robes. Both men and women indulge in self-mortification by driving sharp skewers through their tongues, chests and bodies and some wear nail-footwear and all of them go in procession. During this procession we hear songs on Murugan *Kavadi* songs and charts like '*Vel Vel*' '*Arogara*' etc. *Kavadis* are all decorated beautifully with flowers. These Mauritian Tamils have deep devotion and veneration for Muruga. Inspite of this they don't celebrate *Kanda Shasti* and '*Panguni Uttaram* festivals populary associated with Muruga in Tamilnadu. In addition in the Mariamman temples we have Fire-walking festivals in the Draupadai Amman temple also fire walking festival is observed. Generally, after observing vows of purification and prayers they could celebrate this festival. *Taalattu Arisuvadi singing*, *Kummi*, *kollattam*, *karagattam* are all performed during this festival. Generally, *kavadi* especially *Pusakavadi*, *Chittiraikavadi*, *Vaikasi Kavadi*. Fire walking festi vals in Amman temples, Kanzi, Katthipusai are the festival which are celebrated generally with Tamil cultural flavour.

To day in Port Louis, the capital, we have Arulmigu. Meenakshi Chokalingam Temple. A Sri Lankan *Archarkar* (Temple Priest. performs *pujas*, in this Temple. In the other 125 Temples Mauritian Tamil *Archakars* themselves perform *pujas* in their respective Temples. But the Mauritian

Tamil *Archakars* do not know much about Tamil religion or rituals or ceremanies. The Temples here serve as centres of Tamil culture and some times religious festivals, Drama and Music festivals are held in these Temples.

Govindan vizha

Another important festival is *Govindan Vizha (Purat tasi Viradam)* During the month of *Puratasi* (September October) Tamils observe vows of purification on every saturday. During the month of *Adi* (July-August) on the 18th day married women change the thread in which their talis are tied. Tamil New Years Day is also celebrated grandly. On this day Tamils go to Temples, special *pujas* are also performed, and dance, drama, music festivals are also held. *Pongal* festival is accompanied by singing of Lavani and dance drama of *Kaman koothu.* Tamils also celebrate *Deepavali* and *Sivarairi.*

Tamil Religious Radio Programmes

On all Tuesday evenings, on festivals, vows of purification of that week will be discussed and broadcast in the Mauritian Radio. This programme is titled as "*Saivam Pesugiradu*". This gives an opportunity for the Tamils to get weekly information about Tamil religious matters. In addition *Bhakti* songs, carnatic music and cinema songs are also broadcast. Now and then Tamil pictures are shown in T.V. On important festival days *Bharatha Natyam* dances performed by Mauritius Tamil girls telecast in T.V. Men also perform *Bharathanatyam* dance.

In the Temples, vocal and instrumental music are taught. Young men and women perform *Bhajans* in the temple, which are pleasing to the ears. On festival days Tamil dramas

are also staged. The Education Ministry is conducting National Drama Festival. During this festival dramas in all languages are staged; hence a nice opportunity to stage Tamil drama.

Kavadi Tiruvizha- is celebrated on a grand scale, a festival associated with Lord Muruga. On this occasion people carry *Pookavadi*, *Ilaneerkavadi* and *Paal Kavadi.* Driving sharp skewers through their tongues is called "*Naakk-kuttal*" by them. Children, women, men are and old people are all not afraid of driving sharp skewers through their tongues. Hence the Mauritian Tamils have deep devotion for God.

Tamil Food and Tamil Ties

Tamil food also has a honoured place in the culinary world. Many of the items and the ingredients used for the preparation of food have Tamil names '*Viradha Chappadu*' (vow-food) is a famous food. These people love non-vegetarian food. But at the same time they love Viradha Chappadu they serve food on the plantain leaf and eat cooked rice, *sambar, Rasam*, many vegetables, *pachadi*, *Appalam*, *vadai* and *payasam*, on the day of *Viradha Chappadu*. Some also prepare and eat vegetable *biriyani* on this occasion. On festival days in some places they serve *pulichaddham* (Tamarinad rice) and *Poori. Kottamalli*, *Karuvepilai*, *peerkangkaai*, *pudalangaai*, *avaraikai*, *pagarkaai*, *kattirikai*, *urulai kizhangu*, *vazhaikaai*, *parangikaai*, *pusanikkaai kottachi* are some of the Tamil words for vegetables used by them. Further *pittu*, *urundai*, *dosai*, *muruku*, *adirasam*, *paaku*, *ponnamkanni*, *murungai*, *vettiver*, *inzi* are some of the Tamil words used relating to food items

Some old Tamil names like Subbiah, Sanniyasi, Sangili are in constant use. They also use pure Tamil names like Nambi, Velliveedhi, Nakkeeran, Mangayarkarasi Manimegalai Kannagi, Madhavi. Sivagami, Meenatchi etc. Some pure

Tamil names have been mutilated and modified due to French influence such as for example Mutthaiah has become Muchiah, Murugan has become Moorghan, Veerapan has become Veerlappan. Tiruvenkadam has became Tiruvengtam

Tamil family ties is close and they have affection for each other in the family circle. At the same time we also find respect to elders. But they don't speak Tamil, but only Creole. But while using creole language close relatives are addrssed as in Tamilnadu only in Tamil language. Father's brother is called '*sitthappa*' elder brother as '*Annan*' mother's brother as '*mamma*' sister's husband as '*atthan*' mother-in law as '*Atthai*' and grand mother as *Appayi*' '*Ammayi*'.

Infact the Tamils of Mauritius lead a peaceful life, but a life which attempts to march forward. These people love wine, meat, fish, deer-curry. But on Tuesdays and Fridays they eat only *sambar* and *rasam*. On these two days they take head bath and go to temple. In case of sickness they paste on their body *vibhuti (sacredash)* to get cured. They are all hospitable, as hospitable as Sangam Tamils. They may not be living in Tamilnadu but they are living with Tamil flavour. The Tamils here co-exist peacefully with Telugus, Marathas, Hindustanis, Muslims Biharis, Gujaratis, Arabs, French, British, and the Chinese. They don't quarrel or fight with each other.

Dress And Ornaments

Festivals are the mirrors of culture. Dress and ornaments are the windows of civilization. Tamil culture and civilization can be studied that way. They are not wearing ostentatious dress. In many festivals we can see the tradition *Kummi* and *kollattam* entertainments. Daily these Tamil women wear gowns. But during *Kummi* dance they wear *paavadai*, Jacket and *Davani* like the Tamils of Tamilnadu. Hands full of bangles, rings in their ears, *Jimmiki*, *Maattal*,

netri sutti, *Neenda pinnal* (long hair) and on this *pinnal kunzam Mookutti* head full of paper flowers, *kolusu* in the legs called as *patli* these are found on Tamil women during the festive occasions. On the marriage occasions, the bride wears *ottivana kasumalai* etc- in fact dress like the brides of Tamilnadu. The bride also wears silk sarees. The bridegroom also wears *silk dhoti (pattu vetti) Anagavastram* (uppar garment) and a shirt. On Fridays and other festival days, while going to Temples, Tamil women wear sarees. Hence we see typical Tamil customs and habits observed by Mauritian Tamils.

Some Tamil Customs

If some one visits a family, while a child is born, upto 30 days the visitor after returning to his home on the day of his visit takes head bath. Ear boring ceremony is observed only for female children. Puberty ceremony is also observed. *Nichayam cheydal* (Betrothal) *Manjal poosudal* (*Nalungu vaitthal*) *parism poduthal*, *Daarai vaarthal*, *kannika-danam cheydhukoddutal* (handing over the virgin bride to the bridegroom family as a gift) *manjal kayiril tali kattudal* (tying tali in yellow thread) *paada poosai chaidal*. (doing pujas to the feet of the bridegroom) *Seeruvarisai Chaidal* (exhibiting bride's parents presents as agreed upon with the bridegroom family) *naathanar minzi anivittal* (two small silver rings put on the finger next to toe of both the feet of the bride by the sister-in law (sister of the bridegroom *maalai maattutal* (changing garlands of the bride and bridegroom usually by uncles) We find in all these marriage ceremonies close resemblance to typical Tamil custom. During funeral ceremonies they observe *Irappil kodi podutal*, *ettu padaital*, *karumadi*, *choru aakipodutal* (cooking and serving food on the cremation burial day) *magan mottai adittal* (son shaving his head completely) - typical Tamil customs.

Mass Communication

The biggest Association is Mauritius Tamilar Kazhakam. This Association has 5800 members. In september-October 1958 Tamils migration to Mauritius 250 years memory festival was celebrated. Tamil Temple Cooperative Society records Tamil songs and then teaches these songs to Tamils.

Mrs. Radhamani Ponnusammy has written a book about Mauritius Tamil women's culture and religion. Dr. C.M. Pillai has written about cultural revolution Sri. P. Ganesan of the Tamil Department. Government of Mauritius has written a book tittled as "Mauritiussil Tamil Kalvi". Tamil Drama has reached 100 years and Tamil drama competition is also held. Tamil Mani Pulavar Patta *Theruvu* is conducted. Tamilnadu Text Book Society books are also available in Mauritius

Mauritius Radio And T.V.

Mauritius Radio relays Tamil broadcasts and it broad casts also about Tamil women's culture. Tamil broadcasts are relayed daily for half-an hour. Once in three weeks, a programme on Mauritius and Tamil artists is broadcast. On the day previous to Thaipusam songs on Muruga are broadcast between 10 PM in the night and 6 AM in the morning. During Purattasi Nonpu paruvam for around a month daily morning at 10'o clock programmes relating to Govindan festival are broadcast. At present Tamil programmes are telecast twice a month the T.V special T.V. programmes are there during Tamil New Year's day. Tamil is taught both in the Radio and in the T.V. In some of the Mauritian currency notes also we see printed Tamil words. Tamil press facilities are also available in Mauritius. The first printing press in Tamil appeared in Mauritius in 1940. In 1980 August the Second World Tamil culture

Conference *(Ulaga Tamil Panpattu Manaadu)* was held. In memory of this Conference Mauritius Government released postal stamps, Air letters A special issue relating to the Conference was also released in French, English and Tamil. Tamil Nadu's Finance Minister, Education Minister and the Director of the International Institute of Tamil studies participated in this Conference.

Tamil Journalism

The history of Tamil journalism in Mauritius is 125 years old. It appears the first article in Tamil appeared in 1861 in a daily known as 'Mauritian'. Around this time many Tamil magazines appeared, but their publications ceased after some time. The notable ones are The Mercantile Advertiser (1868) Mimic Trunpater (1911) Tamilkalvi kazhagam (1944), Tamil maha Sangam (1947). The Peacock (1961), Eclavieur (1963) and Tamil voice (1964). Today most of the news are published in French and English in the Tamil weeklies '*Oli*' and 'Saktivel'. This indicates the decline of Tamil language journalism in Mauritius today. Still sometimes Mauritian see Tamil films, tamil dramas too are staged during the National Drama Festival celebrated by the Government. Even during the British colonial period an encouraging environment for the development of Tamil literature was created. On English and French dailies of those days some Tamil essays and poems were published. For example, on June 20, 1861 a Tamil essay appeared in 'Lemauritia'. In 1920's Perumal Subbarayan translated into Tamil the French novel 'Cavengar' written by Guy de Theramond. In 1927 G. Venkatasammy published a book titled 'sethalakshmi' In 1940 Arunachalam published his work "Kalai magal Bodanam' and S. Mudaliyar in 1940 published his book "Tamil Mannar Kumaran' In order to help the

Tamils to learn French easily. G. Seeneevasan wrote in 1911 *Vocabulare Tamoul-Francais*. Today many school teachers are writing and publishing many essays and poems in Tamil. *Tirukkual* was translated into French by *Muttukumaran Sangili* Some of the songs of Bharati also have been translated into French by Muttukumaran Sangili and Ammigan. And both these works have become popular among Mauritian Tamils.

On BoostingTamil Culture

Since independence, Mauritian Government is creating proper environment for the development of Indian languages and culture including Tamil language and culture. Mauritius Government also invited many Indian intellectuals, scholars and cultural troups to Mauritius. In recent year Ma. Po. Sivagnana Gramani and Sirkali Govindarajan visited Mauritius. Mauritius Government also screened some Tamil films. Many private Tamil Associations, which are interested in the growth of Tamil language and culture, approach the Indian government the for help. For example, they submitted a memorandum regarding the need for the improvement of Tamil language and culture in Mauritius in 1987 April to Ma.Po. Chi. Further in December 1987 they conducted the Seventh International Conference seminar of Tamil studies in Mauritius.

Like the Mauritius Government, the Indian government too has shown positive and enthusiastic response in promoting Indian languages including Tamils. It is the stated policy of the Government of India to support and strenghten the political, economic and cultural positions of the people of Indian origin in Mauritius including the Tamils. This policy has been reiterated through the visit of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in October 1986, the visit of Minister for Human Resource Development Mr. Narasimha Rao in September

1987 and the Vice Prisident Dr. Sangar Dayal Sharma in March 1988. The Indian Prime Minister during his visit gifted three peacocks to a Tamil temple in Mauritius and gifted books including Tamil books. Mr. Rao, during his visit, took with him 50 members troup from Tamilnadu as part of the 200 members cultural troup from India for participation at the International ocean festival. The Vice-President presented a number of Tamil books and dictionaries to various socio-cultural organisations of the Tamil community among others. The Government of India signed a Cultural Agreement with the Government of Mauritius in December 1980 which has got provision for co operation to promote Indian languages, culture etc in Mauritius. This Agreement is renewable every two years. The Mahatma Gandhi Institute and the University of Mauritius have signed agreement with the University of Delhi for co operation in promoting language etc. The Government of India has set up recently the Indira Gandhi Centre for Indian Culture in Mauritius to promote exclusively Inidan culture, languages etc.

Hence Indian Government's attitude, Mauritius Government's support, Mauritian Tamils Tamil cultural awarness, support-have created a favourable environment for the growth of Tamil language and culture in Mauritius. Today, however it must be admitted, that out of one lakh Tamils only around 2 percent speak Tamil fluently, and only another 3 to 4 percent read and write Tamil. And those who speak Tamil fluently generally belong to the age group above 60. Enough opportunities were not there to learn Tamil for those who are between the ages of 20 and 60 years. But these people are keen that their children should learn Tamil and therefore want creation of opportunities for teaching Tamil language. Hence a majority of the Tamils are alive to the idea of the

revival and promotion of Tamil language and culture in Mauritius. Eventhough many of them may not be able to write, and speak Tamil fluently, still they are keen on learning Tamil language and culture. And for this purpose they can use Indira Gandhi Centre for Indian culture. And for this purpose, if they are keen, they can also keep in touch with Tamil University. Thanjavur. Tamilnadu which would also help them regarding this aspiration. In fact a few Mauritian Tamil teachers have already undergone training in the course conducted by the Department of Tamil Studies in Foreign Countries, Tamil University Thanjavur.

While planning about the progress and development of Tamil language, we have to understand the present socio-economic cultural environment in Mauritius A Tamil child joins the Primary School at the age of five After studying for six years she appears for the Public examination, the CPE Certificate of Primary Education. In the School she learns three languages. But she does not learn her mother-tongue. In the School the medium of instruction is through English. In newspapers, Radio, T.V. Banks and offices French language is used. Hence upto the sixth standard importance is given only to French, English. Maths and Science. Tamil is taught as an optional subject to those who desire to learn this language. But Tamil parents are keen on their children learning other subjects except Tamil. This is because only if they qualify themselves this way, they can hope for bright future. While teaching Tamil, books published in Tamilnadu such as *Pongal Tamil Vasagam* and the books published by Tamilnadu Text book society were used. And these books were written keeping in view Tamilnadu's environment and not Mauritian environment. Hence attempts are being made at present to introduce syllabus and text books which would suit Mauritian environment. But regarding this only a beginning has been made Hence we

have to keep in view these facts while planning and working for the progress of Tamil language and culture in Mauritius. Today Mr Arunachalam Putpanatham, Tirumalaichetty family, Minister Parasuram, more than 200 Tamil teachers, many intellectuals and Scholars are together working hard to develop Tamil language and culture in Mauritius.

Seychelles

Seychelles is situated near Mombosa (1000 miles distance) in East Africa and Madacascar (600 miles distance). This tiny 92 islands nation is in the Western Indian Ocean. Its total land area is 171 square miles of these Mahi island itself is 57 square miles. In all parts of the island its length is not more than five miles. Its capital Victoria is in the Mahi island.

Seychelles-Tamiladu Relations

Generally Tamils, other Indians, Arabs. Africans and Chinese have travelled near around these islands many times. But the Arabs were the first to discover these islands. But neither the Arabs nor other travellers tried to migrate and settle in these islands.

Even Vascodagama, who came to India had seen Amirends islands near Seychelles in 1502 A.D. But we have no evidence to indicate that he reached Seychelles island.

We understand one Alexander Serbay of British East-India Company, who went in search of food items, reached Seychelles in 1609 A.D. But we have no evidence to indicate that he tried to change it into a British Colony.

The first to attempt colonisation of Seychlles were the French. As a result in 1756 Seychelles became a French Colony. At the time when the French were colonishing there were no indigenous inhabitents in this island. Hence. only the French, and the African slaves' who were brought along with them by the French, were considered as the ancient inhabitants of Seychelles. After them came artisans, merchants Indians, and the Chinese.

A majority of Indians were Tamils. During the French rule in Pondicherry in 1770 Tamils were sent to Seychelles by the French. According to K. Satchidananthan we have evidence to prove that in 1770 total of 27 people migrated which included 15 whites, 7 black slaves and 5 Tamils. The names of these five Tamils were Achari, Muthaiah, Kumar Meenakshi, Govindan and Dominic. From 1783-84 Tamils began to migrate Seychelles continuously. A majority went to Seychelles via Mauritius. Reunion and these came directly from Pondicherry harbour. Most of these came from Thanjavur, Chidambaram, Mayavaram, Karaikal and Cuddalur and all of them came via Pondicherry.

In 1810 A.D Mauritius became a British Colony. Hence Seychelles which was then ruled by Mauritius, became also compulsorily a British Colony. After the conclusion of Napoleonic wars, under the Paris treaty Mauritius and Seychelles became British Colonies. Hence many British servants came and settled in these Countries. During the British rule Tamils came continously and settled in these islands. Especially during the 20th century many Tamil businessmen came and settled in this island. A majority of the latter came from Karaikal, Pondicherry and Thanjavur.

Tamil Population

Seychelles which became independent in 1976 has 60.000 population. Of these 25 percent of the people live in the capital Victoria. As time went on we find a lot of racial admixture in this island due to miscegenation. And the Tamils are no exception to this general rule.

According to K. Satchithanandan only 5 percent are considered as Indians. Except for 10-15 Gujarati families rest of the Indians are Tamils. We can say that approximately

some 3000 Tamils live here. More than that around 30 percent of the Seychelles population have Tamil names. Approximately 17,000 marriages have been registered in Seychelles; of those 770 marriage partners either the bride or the bridegroom have Tamil names. Mostly men went from Tamilnadu. ie. 370 brides and 470 bridegrooms have Tamil names. They had *Gandharva marriage* with African girls. Children born to these were not given Tamil names, but only the names of the maternal grandfathers. According to E.S. Viswanathan there are 500 Tamil families in Seychelles.

Tamil Religion

A majority of the people of Seychelles are Catholics. Many Indians are Hindus, many Chinese are Buddhists Tamil Hindus worship Saiva, Vaishnavava Gods and also their village Gods. However till 1984 there was not even a single Tamil Temple or Tamil religious organisation. *Seychelles Hindu Kovil Sangam* was inaugurated on 10th June 1984.

History of Hinduism in Seychelles dates back to the arrival of the first Indian settlers in this island on the 27th of August 1770. With the passage of time the number of Hindus increased and the need for regligious and spiritual activities began to rise.

During the early years the performance of religious ceremonies, prayers and other activities were carried out individually rather than collectively. Besides many other constraints, lack of a common place of worship was the prime one that stood as an obstacle for the religious and spiritual development of the Hindus.

However a start was given in June 1981 when an expatriate teacher organised group bhajans in his residence to evoke the blessings of Lord Sai Baba. With his blessings

the phajans were held fortnightly and devotees from different faiths and different countries such as India, Shri Lanka, Mauritius and Singapore participated in community prayer. These Sai Baba bhajans instilled in the minds of the Hindus and rekindled the idea of putting up at least one Hindu temple in Seychelles. This led to the birth of the Seychelles Hindu Kovil Sangam.

Then came the question of buying a plot of land for the constructton of the Temple. Statues of Vinayagar and other deities were being shifted from place to place beeause of the lack of a permanent place to install them Finance was needed. The solution to the problem was in sight when a suitable place for the temple was found by the devotees soon after Baba's birthday.

The date to lay the foundation stone for the temple was fixed for the 6th of May 1990 which was Easwaramma day (Sai's childrens day). This day was a red letter day for all the Hindus of Seychelles. Time for laying the foundation was between 7.30 and 8.00 a.m., that is the equivalent to 9.00 to 9.30 a.m in India when Sai devotees have bhajans in Prasanthi Nilayam and get the blessings of Lord Baba after Arthi. Though many names were suggested to lay the foundation stone, it was Baba's will that one of his devotees should come all the way from India to lay the foundation. Only Sai devotees among us knew that it was the leela of Baba. They were not surprised to see Mr Manian, the editor of GNANABHOOMI an ardent devotee of Sai Baba arriving to lay the foundation. In fact in the course of his speech at the foundation ceremony, he himself expressed that it was something miraculous that he was chosen to perform this holy act. Everyone of us involved in the project knew that the date for KUMBABISHEGAM will be fixed on a day that could be convenient to all and will be a

special day. Arrangements were made to fix it for the 26th of May but all of a sudden the date was changed to 6th May 1992 which again is "Easwaramma Day".

(K. Ratnasabapathy Pillai What is Bhagavan Sri Sathya Sai baba to me Seychelles Hindu Kovil Sangam Souvenir Issue: 118).

The consecration of the first Hindu temple for the Tamil's in Seychelles was performed on Wednesday May 6 by Sri Ramanatha Sivachariar of Tamil Nadu.

According to information reaching here on May 7 the deities of Navasakthi Vinayakar. Lord Nataraja and Sivakami, Sri Srinivasa Perumal and Mahalakshmi, Lord Murugan Valli and Deivayanai, Goddess Durga and Lord Chandikeswarar have been installed in the Seychelles temple.

The Seychelles Hindu Kovil Sangam, the owners and trustees of the temple representing the entire Tamil community had made the arrangements for the ceremony.

All the 300 Tamil business establishments remained closed as professionals and other employees from the expatriate Indian. Sri Lankan and Mauritian communities participated in the ceremony. Tamils, Gujaratis, Punjabis and Creole-speaking Seychelloise also participated.

Former Tamil Nadu Assembly Speaker Mr K. Rajaram represented Tamil Nadu and Mr Balachandran Indian High Commissioner in Seychelles represented the Indian Government. The Hindu (Madurai on May 7 Reported.

The Hindu Kovil Sangam rented the Qunicy Street premises 'for conducting prayers. It was registered as a society by the Government of Seychelles on 4th July 1984. Prayer

meetings are conducted on Sundays at 08.00 and 19.00 hours. *Abhisekams* are performed to the deities Vinayaka and Natarajar every Sunday morning and on special occasions.

Vinayaka Chathurthi, *Krishna Jayanthi*, *Thiruvilakku Pooja*, *Navarathri*, *Vijayathasami*, *Deepavali*, *Skanda Sashdi*, *Thiruvembaavai*, *Thai pongal*, *Maha Sivarathri*, *Tamil New Year*. *Malavalam New Year* are among the religious events observed. Training is provided in dancing, Music, Tamil Language and Hindu culture. Classes are conducted every Sunday form 09.00 to 11.00 hours. Tiruppathy Tirumala Devasthanam, India, has proposed to assist financially in the construction of a Temple.

Caste and Social Structure

Very few Tamils do not have caste surnames. More than a majority have caste surnames *Achari*, *Chetty*, *Pillai*, *Nayudu Nayakkan* and *Padayatchi*. Of these most popular are *Pillai Chetty*, *Nayudu* and *Padayatchi*. Some of the people who have intermingled with Tamil people also have caste surnames. But they are not considered as Tamils, but only as blacks or whites. More than fifty percent of Seychelles population must have had blood-relations with the Tamils. Even some Whites, while discussing about the achievements of their ancestors, mention, ancestors names, who have Tamil Caste surnames,

Tamils in Seychelles married African girls. In case a child is born to these married couple, maternal grandfather's name is given to the child. Mostly these married women do not belong to the Tamilnadu. After the birth of the child including the Hindus, baptised the child according to christian ritual practices. They also attended the Church every Sunday. Even marriages, including those of the Saivites and Vaishnavi-

tes, are performed according to Christi an tradition. Some of them marry according to Tamil tradition. The dead are not cremated, but only buried with Chri stian rites. Infact there is not even a single cremation ground in Seychelles. The Hindu Kovil Sangam is trying to creat one. If we observe the life pattern of Tamils, we can say that ev en though they are not Catholics. they lead their everyday life like the Catholics.

In Mahi we get all vegetables that are available in our country. Daily food includes fruits, fish a nd vegetables. A majority of the people live in small hamle ts and big villages near the sea shore. They live in simpl e thatched palm-leaves huts which are neatly kept. Mostly they cook outside their houses. Each house has a garden. where vegetables needed for the house-hold, are grown. Poultry and Pig farms are also maintained for getting meat.

Economic Conditions

A majority of the people of Seychelles are agriculturists. In their ownlands they grow palm tree, and spices. Generally unemployment is not there. Many work as carpenters, drivers hotel workers and house builders. Many business establish, ments are owned by Tamils. These shops are particularly owned by Nayudu, Pillai, Padayatchi and Chetty. Tamil shops are found in all villages and towns of Seychelles. We also find Chinese shops here and there. Textiles export - import business and food household goods are Tamil Traders's field of specialisation. Some Tamils are export - Import businessmen and some are wholesale dealers. The biggest commercial establishment of Mahe is owned by a Tamilian. Many shops in Victoria and in other places have Hindu names like Murugan Stores, Balan Stores, Swamy Stores, Sekar Stores, Mohan Hindu Shopping Centre. Sakti Studio etc.

Air India flights to Mauritius go via Seychelles. This enables the Tamils in Seychelles to keep close contact with Tamilnadu. They import a variety of goods from Tamilnadu and sell them at Seychelles. They also get fancy goods of aesthetic taste from Britain and Paris and sell them.

Some Tamils are in Government and educational service. Many government servants ancestors are Tamils. A Tamil is the Chief of the Police Department. In the Army too Tamilian are serving. Tamilians are occupying important positions in the mass communication service like T.V. and Radio.

Politics

We have no evidence to indicate that the Tamils played a key role in Seychelles independence movement. After Seychelles independence, before 1977, Mr. Chetty, a Tamil, was serving as a Minister.

Tamil Language

Seychelles was under the British rule for 160 years. And it was under the French domination for 40 years. Inspite of this we can notice significant French influence in this island. The country name as well as the names of many places are French names. A majority of the people speak Creole, which is an offshoot of French. Eventhough English is the official language, still for every day purposes, people use Creole. French has second language status.

Tamils in the beginning used French. Then they started using Creole, a mixture of African and French language. Some Tamil words like *Karuveppilai* and their household utility goods have Tamil names which have become part of Creole. As time went on, the number of Tamil speakers and writers declined. Ultimately Tamils in Seychelles forgot Tamil itself. There

is not even a single Tamil School in Seychelles. But since 1984 Hindu Kovil Sangam is teaching Tamil on Sundays from 9 A.M. to 11 A.M. in the morning. A few Tamils have not forgotten Tamil, some even compose Tamil songs.

Mass Communication

Cultural programmes by members of the Seychelles Hindu Kovil Sangam are telecast for the benefit of T.V. viewers in Seychelles Inspite of this there is no proper environment to encourage Tamil Fine Arts.

We also come across Tamil Video clubs, P.O. Box, 88 in Victoria, where they are selling on hire more than 200 Tamil Video films. Hence video club helps them to see, enjoy and evaluate Tamil films.

A majority of the Tamils have established close contacts with India, and these intimate contacts began to improve especially since 1971. Mrs. Rajshree Gautham's Bharatha Natyam performance took place on November 2, 1985. She was invited by the Seychelles Hindu Kovil Sangam

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Reunion Island (France)

Reunion is one of the Mascarene islands .nd a French Overseas Department (Department francais d' outre-Mer) in the Western Indian Ocean. It is situated 640 Km east of the Malagasy Republic and 180 km South West of Mauritius. Reunion is 2510 sqkm. This island is volcanic - one crater: Piton de la Fournaise, has erupted several times. Tropical cyclones occur frequently.

Reunion - Tamilnadu Relations

On their way to West Asia and Europe the ancient and medieval Tamils may have seen this Reunion island. But at present we have no evidence to indicate the migration of the Tamils and other Indians to the Reunion island till the 17th century. The first to migrate and settle in this island were the British and the French. Later it became a French colony. Reunion and Mauritius (ancient name L'tle de France) were two stopping places for ships rounding the cape of Good Hope to India.

Like Reunion, Pondicherry, Karaikal, Yanaon, Mahe and Chandernagor were the French colonies in India. In 1674 Pondicherry was the capital of French India. From the French territories in India Tamilians, were taken to Reunion for building that island in the 18th contury. A majority of these Tamils worked in Sugar cane and coffee plantations. These labourers were only paid low wages. Hence even before migrating to Mauritius, Tamils migrated to Reunion. Those who came then settled permanently in this island and their deiscendants are living today in this island. The second wave of Tamil immigration into Reunion island took place in 1848 when slavery was abolished in all French torritories all over

the world. From this date indentured labourers from India, particularly from Tamilnadu, East Africa and Indo China were brought to Reunion. Some Tamils were brought to this island and also to Mauritius before the French revolution of 1848. The third wave of migration tookplace in 1954, when Pondicherry and Karaikal joined the Republic of India in 1954. During this time some french Tamils from Pondicherry and Karaikal came to Reunion. Most of them were working in French Civil Services. Some of them and some Tamils from Mauritius try to stimulate Tamil culture.

When the Tamils first came and settled in Reunion, many in Tamilnadu were not aware of the existence of such an island near Africa. Professor V. Coumarasamy of Reunion islands told me "Since Mauritius is an independent eountry many people in the world are aware of it. But since Reunion is a French Overseas Department many are not aware of its existence. Once when I tried to telephone Reunion from the city of Madras, the Madras Telephone Office Staff told me that there is no such island as Reunion"

Tamil Population

Around 1797 the total population of Reunion was 56,800. Of these Whites 10,400, free people 16,000, and Slaves 44,800. Around 1850 this island's total population was 1,10,891. Tamils, as already told, began to migrate and settle in this island since the beginning of the 18th century.

In 1977 the total population of Reunion is 5½ lakhs. Of these Tamils constituted 1½ lakhs. ie. 28 percent of the total population of Reunion. According to Professor V. Coumarasamy today there are more than 2 lakhs Tamils living in Reunion.

Tamil Religion

In the beginning soon after their migration to Reunion Tamils raised four walls end in the middle they planted a stone, painted a monstauche on it worshipped and per formed puja to it as Muneeswaran. For this purpose the French save them lends in the sugar plantations.

In recent years Indian sculptors were received and these temples were enlarged and remoddeled Rajagopurams built and Kudamuzhuku were performed.

The Tamils of this island had lost their contacts with their culture and language. But they preserved their religion. There is a temple in each and every village. You find Siva, Murugan and Kali Temples in many places. Reunion has several Murugan Temples: in Saint -Denis (the capital city), in Saint Pierre. Saint Paul, Sanit Andre etc. In Siva and Tirumal Temples *Pujas* are done by the priests brought down from Tamilnadu. Before 1980 in all the Temples, *Pujas* were performed only in French language and French language was the language of the Temples. But after the birth of Tamil awarness in Mauritius in 1980 some Tamil *Pandarums* do *pujas* in Tamil and Sanskrit in some of the Reunion Temples.

Fire walking ceremony is observed in many Temples. In some Temples during this festival time goats are killed, then meat is cooked and offered to the gods and then some 200 to 300 people eat. Many Tamils from Reunion go to Mauritius to see Fire walking ceremony in Mauritian Temples.

In all the Temples, whether big or small, every year ten days festival is celebrated. During that festival people come in crowds, stay three or four hours and participate in worship. The main part is to fast, purify body and mind as

far as possible and carry some offering in a specially designed carrier called *Kavadi*. *Kavadi* is a semi-circular carrier carried on the shoulder with or without Lord Muruga's Pictures or statues or and peacock feathers on either side and these are well Protected by special canopy. Some demonstrate their faith with hooks stuck into their bodies or metal rods stuck through their cheeks or the skin of their sides. In Kali Amman Temple Amman will be taken around in procession and some will perform *Sakthi Karagam dance*. During such a procession through the streets infront of each house the house holder performs *Deepa Aradhana* to Amman.

Even Tamil christians wearing long gowns and Maxis visit and worship in Hindu Temples. A majority of the people who visit the Temples wear pants and trousers. Generally Tamils celebrate *Pongal*, *Deepavali*, *New year*, *Vow observance day and Fire walking ceremony*

Social structure

Reunion was a French Colony till 1947. In 1947, however, it became one of the four overseas Department of France. As a result all Reunion citizens, irrespective of their colour or religion were made full citizens of France. There is no caste or religious hatred, among the people. Neither people believe in religious pollution. Tamils don't eat beef. On festival days Tamils prepare Tamilnadu food and eat.

Gurukals (priests) brought from Tamilnadu help them in performing Marriage ceremony and other religious rites on other occasions. Usually at appropriate time tonsure ceremony is observed for children. But ear-piercing ceremony is fast disappearing.

The dead are not cremated; all irrespective of their religion, are only buried after death.

Usually Tamils here wear western dress. However during Hindu temple festival days as well as during marriage ceremony some. especially youngsters wear *dhoti*, *shirt* or *jibba*; many women wear sarees and jackets. They wear Sarees during *Pongal*, *Deepavali*, *New Year*, *Vow observance day* and *Fire walking festival* day.

Tamils in this island peacefully coexist with the descendants of the Africans. Chinese, former French descendants and recent French immigrants. Mixed Caste, religious and racial marriages are common. Hence we can see multicoloured people. Along with them live those Gujarati Hindus and Muslims who only recently arrived and are living in cities.

Economic Status

Even today many Tamils work in sugarcane plantations. Those Tamils educated in France and who speak French language occupy decent positions in life. They work as doctors, lawyers, teachers and lecturers. More than 28 percent of the Tamils are working in commercial, industrial sector and some are in politics.

Generally Tamils of this island are found in all walks of life. Some are in government service and some are in private sector. A majority of the Gujarati Hindus and Muslims are employed in the agricultural sector. Some are working in the Paris city courts in France. Sugar is exported. Generally compared to Mauritius here, the standard of living is higher. And here we can see more or less the same standard of living as in France. The minimum salary that one receives is 3500 F F ie. 7000 rupees. Each and every family has facilities to live with a T.V. and a car. In car sales Reunion occupies the second place in the world. In other words it can be stated that people live here with all facilities and there is no place for poverty.

Tamil Language and Education

Tamils of this island have forgotten Tamil. They all speak Creole - a hybrid of French language. The educated only speak French language The official language is French, used in offices. Generally 95 out of 100 Tamils do not know how to write or read or speak Tamil. A few Tamils who have contacts with Pondicherry and France speak Tamil.

All are eligible for free education. Children must go to Schools upto 16th year. Otherwise, parents will be punished. The medium of instruction in the Schools is French language. In addition, English, German and Spanish are also taught as foreign languages. There are no Tamil Schools in French areas and in other areas.

Sanglelee from Mauritius was the first Tamil teacher in Reunion. In 1971 Deva Koumarane wrote and published the first book in French Learn Tamil. He was also a Tamil teacher. 'J' apprends le tamoul» is the title of his book. He also translated in French some poems of Baradi (Bharatiyar). Dhanda bani and other persons had written books on Tamil language and culture.

In a surprising turn, four years ago Tamil was permitted to be taught in this island by the Government. Further more in the Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, University of Reunion. Tamil is taught to those who are above 18 years old. And Tamil can be taken as an optional subject in the University. Generally now in T.V. Videos, *Bhajans* Classes and Temples, efforts are being made to introduce Tamil.

Tamil Culture

Hence eventhough they have forgotten Tamil, still there is enthusiasm to revive Tamil in this island. And Tamilnadu should take advantage of this enthusiasm and try to develop

Tamil in Reunion. Further Tamil language education also is not completely forgotten. Even now there is scope for teaching Tamil language - an opportunity to develop more enthusiasm among the younger generation. Reunion Tamils have not also forgotten Tamil culture. They are still preserving Tamil religion. They still have Tamil Hindu names - Arangasammy Ramasamy, Kirutinan, Raman, Murugan, Ganesan, Katthayi, Muruvay, Ramay, Meenatchi, Meena, Mainavati, Kamatchi etc. A majority of the people, however, have christian first name e.g. Philip Raman.

Politics

The French Parliament includes five deputies from Reunion and one of them is Tamil and three Senators from Reunion and two of them are Tamils. Many Tamils are also members of political parties like the Labour party.

Mass Communication System

In 1965 Rene Kichenin, advocate and doctor in law published Le Trident, a newspaper to promote the Tamil language and culture in Reunion. In 1968 he founded with other young people Le Club Tamoul. From 1975 to 1982 '*Tamil*' '*Presence*' the two newspapers were published in Reunion. '*Presence*' published news items and articles about Tamil religion, and culture. Important festivals, Time tables were also published. 'Oli' a monthly is also published. It uses in its emblem dancing Tillai Nataraja form.

Permale introduced Tamil radio broadcasts since 1981 This is a private radio organisation located in Saint-Pierre. We can see Mauritius T.V. relay broadcasts in Reunion. Hence Reunion Tamils are able to see the tamil films show-in Mauritius T.V. They also listen to the Tamil songs, broadcast from Mauritius.

Ponin Parashourmen is the Director of Radio Velly broadcasting now in Tamil. He is very keen to build the cultural bridge between this island and the other countries. Djeabarlene Permale, the President of the French Tamil Cultural Centre and the former director of Kalaivany Radio (broadcasting inTamil) is among those who defend, appreciate and promote the Tamil culture in Reunion.

Africa

Attempts have been made to study here the similarities between Tamil culture and African culture and on that basis as well as on the basis of other circumstantial evidences to infer that overseas Tamils were quite active in Africa since the early period and they were probably the instruments in spreading some elements of Tamil culture to these distan- lands.

Africa, Tamilnadu - Part of A Great Continent

Scholars have named various countries and even Contit nents as the original home of the Tamils. The Tamils themselves or their historians, to be more exact, believed that in the remote past the Tamil homeland was situated in the southern part of Nawalam, a large island that was one of the first land mass to arise near the equator and that Lemuria, a lost continent considered to be the cradle of civilization was part of the same region.

Tamil scholars believed Lemuria to be the northern projection of Gondwana, a vast Continent now lying at the bottom of the Indian Ocean.

Geologists have advanced a hypothesis a great land bridge once connected India and Africa. Likewise a large number of geologists believe that a great Continent called Gondwana land comprising South America, Africa, India, Australia and Antarctica existed in the Southern Hemisphere hundreds of million of years ago.

Some French, German and African Scholars have also attempted to trace the common heritage of ancient Dravidian

India and Negro Africa in culture, language and civilization. As early as 1897 the German ethnologist Frobenius noticed some cultural similiarities between Negro Africa and Ancient India. (*Der Ursprung der Africanishen Kulturen*, Berlin, 1897) Baumann and Westermann in their monumental work on African ethnology and civilization have noticed the influence of Indian culture on Neo- Sudanese culture. (Les Peuples et less civilisations de l'Afrique. Translated into French by L.Homburger, Paris, Payot). Cheik-Anta Dio has traced many resemblances between Negro-African, Egyptian and Oriental civilizations. (Cheik Anta, 1955, Nations Negres et culturel Paris, Editions Africaines)

Gold - Seekers

Breaking a new ground with a controversial but convincing argument which makes compelling reading cyril A. Hromnik in his book Indo-Africa states that Sub Saharan Africa was explored and settled especially in those areas rich in gold and other minerals by Indians, in the centuries, if not millenia, before Christ and by Indonesians at the beginning of the Christian era. Dr. Hromnik Clearly points out that Africa was as much a part of the ancient world as Greece or China and that when the early geographers, be they Indian, Roman, Muslim or later Portuguese chroniclers, referred to the eastern part of the Continent as India, this was not due to ignorance but contemporary Usage. It mentioned at all, the obvious unity between Africa and India made possible by the monsoon trade winds is underplayed by historians despite historical, linguistic and anthropological evidence which leaves no doubt the Sub - Saharan Africa belongs to the cultural zone of the Indian Ocean. The trading and mining activities of the Indo-Indonesian gold seekers, including the South Indians from Capecomirin and Malabar was the main reason for the introduction of iron and

metallurgy into Sub - Saharan Africa and the concurrent introduction of South Asian food plants made the demographic explosion of the negroids in the first millenium A. D. possible. Eventually the Indo-Indonesian prospectors, miners, traders and settlers fell victim to the chain of developments which they had initiated, became absorped in Black African Society and their influence in the history and culture of Africa nearly forgotten. Fortunately language the best recorder of history-remained to confirm and strengthen the veracity of the relatively scarce and hard to understand historical sources which indicate that the area the modern world calls "Sub-Saharan Africa" is infact "Indo-Africa" (Hromnik, 1981)

The original home of the Negroes has sometimes been suggested to be Asia (India), Europea and Africa itself. Though it is difficult to say with finality it might be said that the occurence of "Sickle cells" in a group of Indian population supports the Indian hometheory.

Remarkable Affinity

Cammiade and Burkitt have noticed a remarkable affinity between various implements belonging to the Palaeolithic. Age that are found in South India and similar ones that are found in South Africa. Cammiade had gathered large quantities of pre-historic implements from various localities in South India and the Deccan and Burkitt who has specialised in the Stone Age implementes of South Africa, have together elucidated the sequence of these finds from a typological study in a number of articles published in *The Antiquity*. Drawing attention to various parallelisms that are found to exist between the South Indian types and those of Africa, they have come to the conclusion that "close connection

existed in those days between the two races" (*Antiquity* IV 1930, 338-339). Later studies by D. Clarke, V.D. Krishnaswami and H.D. Sankalia confirm it.

Mille. Homburger remarks that next to Africans, Dravidians Indians) were more dark in colour. The Dravidians went to Africa through the Red sea. They were black men and not brahmins (Homburger, 1977, 148-153).

Helped by Nartue and Geography

Dr. Leopold Sedar Senghor, the President of Senegal, observes that "Southern India is in the same latitude as Senegal, Mali, Niger, Chad, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia. More than this only the Indian Ocean separates the eastern coast of Africa from the South of India. As a matter of fact geologists maintain that Indian Sub-Continent was formerly attached to East Africa. In this respect the findings of marine biology are of outstanding importance .... it is remarkable that the pithecanthrops - proconsuls and australopithecs-who whilst not the ancestors of the human species are zoologically their next of kin as *infra* and *parahomlniens*, proliferated simultaneously in East Africa and Southern India .... One should not consider only East Africa as the cradle of Mankind, but rather the area stretching from East Africa to Southern India" (Senghor, 1977, 1—15).

The connection between India and Africa, has at all times, been helped by nature and geography. The direct distance between Mombasa and Bombay is only 2,500 miles. The duration of the monsoons blowing for six months from the north east and for the next six months from the south east was a source of tremendous power to the sailors, the vessels had only

to set their sails and point their bows towards Africa during November and February, and after a brisk trade, had to get their bows in the opposite direction. And in this way trade was going on for centuries. This knowledge of the direction of the monsoons was long known to the Indians and the Arabs and when Hippalus discovered this secret in 47 A,D for Europe, the winds came to be called Hippalus by Europeans.

Contacts with Egypt: Earliest

That India's contact with Egypt was perhaps the earliest and goes back to 2500 B.C. or even earlier may have some truth. This evidenee comes from two sources (1) the language and (2) the use of cowrie shell "Historical conclusions from-study of Indo-African language" says that "the first dynastic Egyptians came from the Indusvalley following some traders who had preceded them. It is difficult to say if they had been preceded by the yellowish khois (Hottentots) who peopled the Country called Cash and were driven south by the Egyptians and later by the Blacks, who came over from India by small groups", of course archaeologically it cannot be proved.

Cowrie Shell Evidence

The evidence provided by the use of the cowrie shell as a means of currency and coinage is most remarkable. The Cowrie shell is not a native of the Atlantic cost but was brought there from the Maldive islands, near the Indian coast. According to Mrs. Leakey Cowrie shells from the Maldive islands were found in an Iron Age settlement near Nabure in the Kenya Highlands, establishing the possibility of very old trade contacts between India and Africa. According to another authority. The Indians who traded with Egypt used

the cowrie shell for money .... This system dates as far back as the 28th century B.C." (Delmer, History of Monetary systems, 147). Another Scholar has supported this view in these words: "When it is realized that almost the only postive records of maritime achievements before 2000 B C relates to the Egyptians, it seems that the Egyptians were trading with India and China, using cowrie as a means of foreign currency" (Forde, C. Daryll, Ancient Mariners, 367).

Testimony of the Periplus

Periplus of the Erythrean sea, the *earliest* extensive work on navigation in the world was written probably by a Greek of Alexandria in 60A.D. This is an account of an eyewitness who travelled by sea through the Gulf of Aden, rounded the Cape Guardafui and sailed Southward along the shores of what are now the countries called Somalia, Kenya and Tanganyika. In about 7500 words in length it explains that the imports into and exports between Damirica (The Tamil country) Rome, Africa and other Countries.

The testimony of the Periplus is that the inhabitants of this coastal region of Africa were savages but describes their markets as part of a close knit network of Indian ocean trade. Ships sailed from Egypt in July, other ships came direct from India. To the African market towns across the seas from Barygaza (modern Baroach) ships used to bring the products of their own places-wheat rice, clarified butter, sesame oil, cotton clothes and girdles and honey from the read claeed sechari. Indians imported from Africa Ivory, tortioise sheel, rhinocerus lorm, palm oil in great quantities. It is quite likely that the Indians introduced sugar and coconut into Africa.

Besides the trade in these commodites, the important thing to note is that these products "were regularly shipped in Indian vessels from the Gulf of Cambay" (W. Schoff, 1912, 74, 90,99). The Periplus refers to the Port called then Avalites (modern Zeila) on the coast of Somaliland. In this harbour mention is made about twenty maritime craft; large and small, which were navigated by Rayput or Hindu Pilots (Ibid 88 . Thus the Indian vessels played the most important part in this trade. It may also be noted that that some of the Indian ships discharged their cargoes in the African Ports, but others transhipped them at sea, thus establishing a network of trading activity, connecting India, Red Sea area (especially Muza) and Egypt and the Roman world. of which the centre was India (on Periplus see also in this book Chapter on Italy).

Chettis and Commerce

That this pattern of trading must have continued from the Ist century A.D. to the sixth century A D. is borned but by the testimony of the Christian Topography by Cosmas, who was an Egyptian monk. The work was written in 545 A,D. It mentions imports into India of certain African commodities. It refers to the import of frankincense, cassia, calmus into India from the coast of Ethiopia. The notable places of trade mentioned in India are Sindh, Saurasthra. Chaul and Male.

Cyril A Hromnik agrees that "while some Brahmans may not have wished to cross the Indus, Bangas, Chettis and othes trading and seafaring castes, not only crossed all the rivers of India and much of Asia but also all seas and oceans of the old world. These Indians settled in the Malay Archipelago, turning it into Indonesia, and occupied the

eastern coast of Africa, noming it Ajanabar or Azania'' (Hromnik, 1981, 31).

Cape Comorin's Commercial Role

Modern historians, geographers; archaeologists and especially Africanists insist that the Arabs were the first true geographers and the first external explorers of Africa. Cyril A Hromnik arrrives at the following conclusion", The confusion in Muslim geographres is illustrated by the well-known contradictions concerning the identification of Madagascar. Africanists, as opposed to orientalists, tend to believe that alkomr generally applies in Muslim goegraphies to the great island known as Madagascar. The meaning of alkomr is supposed to be "the island of the Moon' from the Arabic Kamar-the moon Its location varies between the sea of Zang-bar (ref. to Madagascar) the sea of India or Ethiopia (Cape Comorin) and the sea of China (Malay Archipelago). This confusion stems from the Muslim geographers' ignorance of the southern zone of the Indian ocean, which nutrured their belief that the African Continent bent towards the east and was almost linked with Ceylon, of not with India and Malaya. Thus Greeks, for instance Hecataeus and Herodotus (sixth and fifth centuries B.C) who believed that the East African Coast leaned towards the setting sun, were closer to the truth than the Muslims much later".

"Meanwhile the physical and cultural features correspond most closely with South India (see, for instance, the description of Ibn Khaldun, Abu I - Fida, al-Biruni etc). It would apper that Muslim geographers attributed both the name and the characteristics of South Indian region around the modern Cape Comorin (Ptolomy's Comaria Regio) to the island of Kambalu or Madagascar which was almost un-

known to them. This they then located either near East Africa or near Malaya. In fact the Arabic Dgazirat at Komr is nothing other than an Arabic translation of the Indian Kumari Dwipa and this, according to the *Skanada Purana* (Indian Scripture) is the southern tip of India, including Ceylon or Sri Lanka. This error is reflected on the planisphere of Fra Mauro (1459) where Madagascar is called Mahal but its decription pertains to Malabar (South India) The erronerors Muslim perception is corrected on *Totius orbi* (map ca 1523) by Jhan Vespacci where 'Comer' island is placed in the postion of Ceylon (Cf al Idresi's map in W. Vincent, *The commerce A.M.* Navigation 11, 562); where the island in the southern portion of the Indian ocean is called Comor ou Malay' and the same in R. Beazley, Prince Henry, p. 24, as "Comr or Madagascar").

"From this brief expose of early Muslim geography we may conclude that it owed much of this information to often unacknowledged foreign, mainly Indian, Persian, Greek and Roman, sources" (Homnik, 1984, 34-36).

Alexander the Great learnt the truth in his time when after a successful conquest of the Greek city states and the Persian Empire from Asia Minor and Egypt to its eastern confines, he tried to invade India, in 325 B.C. and found Indians a vigorous nation which in war was "the bravest of all races inhabiting Asia at the time" (Arrianus, The Anabasis of Alexander in R C. Majumdar, *The Classical Account of India*. Calcutta, 1960, 24-25).

Coasts of the Ocean Bears India's Name

This vigorus and enterprising nation equipped with seaworthy ships and the best sailors(and Pirates) of the time, must have left a deep mark on all the coasts of the ocean that

hears its name (ie the Indian ocean) Indeed it would be the greatest paradox of all if the only ocean to bear the name of a people was named after maritime dwarf. The *rajas* of Calicut in South India won for themselves the epithet "the Sea kings" or Samari (Zamorin in Portuguese records) (Ibn. Battuta, 1963, 365) Europe and even Egypt were led to believe that Indian goods were produced in Aromata, Sabea or at best in Western India, but in reality they were imported there by Indian merchants on Indian ships. The Periplus Maris Erythraei Written by an unknown Greek sea-trader in ca AD64). Cosmas Indicopleustes, author of the *christian Topography* written ca A.D.547-49 and other sources make it clear that Indian ships sailed regularly to the coast of East Africa at the time and mediaevel muslim geographers confirm the same (Schoff, 1912, 27; Cosmas, 1897, 365). They also tell us that Indian languages, were commonly spoken by the traders in the ports of East Africa. As a result traders from India, Indonesia, and the coast of East Africa could under stand each other without any need for interpreters.(Hromnik, 1981, 43).

Indians Called East Africa Bandargah

The East African Ports where the goods of the Orient were bartered for the products of Africa, were known to the ancient Indian seafarers by the descriptive name bandargah, meaning market ports. *Bandargah* is the base of the much later Muslim name *Benadir* (the coast of harbours) and this can be correlated with the far side of the Periplus. The coast itself from Cape Guardaful to the far south was named by Indians Ajan-bar, which was later Hellenized and Romanized into Azania. Azania meant the country of Ignoramuses or Barbaria and reflected the level of theological and scientific

knowledge of its inhabitants. (Notice not savages, but barbarians). Hromnik, 1981, 43-44).

Plentiful Evidence of Indians Presence in Africa

Material evidence of Indian presence in eastern, central and even Southern Africa in the pre 1500 period is plentiful. It ranges from bhang to beads, cocount scrapers, cotton, various fabrics, metal work, architecture, river craft. The long list may end with the beautifully carved Indian doors at Lamu and elsewhere along the coast. This is not the place to date each of the listed and unlisted items whose age may vary between 3000 and 200 years. It suffices to say that almost all known Muslim places on the coast and in the interior have as their antecedent the Indian past. Sena on the Zambezi was an Indian town in the twelfth century and as late as 1497 half the population of Malindi and Kilwa on the coast consisted of Malabari and other Indians and Ethiopians. By 1500 the Negroid Bantu population was so used to Indian merchandise that the Portuguese were unable to sell them any of the goods which they were successfully selling to the Negroids on the Costada Mina in West Africa. (Hromnik, 1981, 44).

Earliest South Indian Coastal Settlement

Archaeological, anthropological and linguistic studies also confirm the contacts and the views mentioned above. Gervase, British pioneer of east coast archaeology discovered a south Indian settlement in the islet of Sanja ye-kati, near the some what larger islet of Kilwa in 1950. He found the undergrowth of the ruins of a settlement of "small oblong house of carefully dressed masonry, grouped round a citadal whose walls still rise to sixteen feet". It is the earliest of the coastal

settlements so far traced and its iron using Culture may well have been pre-islamic by several centuries southern Arabian or perhaps southern Indian (K.P. Aravaanan, 1977, 156)

In the same year 1950 Mathew excavated another coral islet called Songo Mhara of Southern Tanganyika (Now called as Tanzania). In this place he discovered among the beads there one pierced Cornelions from India. In southern Rhodesia, archaeologists found that there are abundant stone ruins, objects in gold and other metals, pottery from the East coast, percelain from China and beads from Indian. Indian beads became valuable in this respect as early as the 8th century A.D. Indian textiles too were imported from India to Africa. It has been identified in the North cemestry at Meroe. A kind of water reservoir found in Meroe too must have come from India for it is unknown in Egypt. South Africans and Dravidians have similer physical appearance and cultural identities. Even blood group indicates one map of blood group distribution found for Indonesia, and just that portion of West Africa, where the cultural parallels are found. The Cowries are used in west Africa as prashna. These Cowries came from the West coast of southern India ie. Kerala. West African jewellery is influenced by South. Indian jewellary. Aravaanan, 1977 156,157, Panikkar, 1963, 23).

Gold is the Link

But what motivated Indians and other Asians to come and dwell in Africa? The simplest answer is gold and other metals. The first discoveries of African gold must have been some fortunate survivors from an Indian ship blown by the monsoon winds out of its way, sailing perhaps to

Persia or Aromata and wrecked some where on the coast of Mozambique. Looking at the map of Monsoon winds, such men almost had to be India, most probably South Indian. The coco palms that now grow at Kerimba islands followed a similar route from the Maldive islands off the Malabar coast (South India). The earliest East African local tradition contained in *the Chronica dos Reyes de quiloa* actually applies similar reasoning (ships blown by winds out of its course) to the earliest sailors who reached Sofala. There is little doubt that those men were Indians, because Indians were both the earliest ocean navigators, the earliest esea-traders or *Sanyatrik* and the earliest gold miners. The earliest gold mines may have been opened on the Dharwar schists in Hyderabad as early as 6000 - 4000 B.C. And the Indian caste of *Sanyatrik* was trading on the Indian ocean from the beginning of the fourth millenium B C. (A. Hromnik, 1981. 44-45, Baros Asia, Decada I, 305, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India From Pre-historic Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, *Madras*, 1966, 16-17).

The secrecy of Indian gold and spice trading obviously began in pre-Solomon antiquity. Considering other evidence of ancient gold mining, which cannot be discussed here an account of its complexity, we must conclude Indian gold mining in and around the South Zambezi plateau might have begun as early as the end of the beginning the first millenium B.C. Deep stope mining in the same area might have been a later development, perhaps, around the beginning of the Christian era, as is confirmed by the earliest evidence of iron-smelting in South Africa. The type of deep mining evidenced in Southern Africa was hardly possible without iron tools. The high quality iron evidenced in Southern Africa was almost certainly developed in South India, which had been in the Iron Age long before North India,

where at the same time only copper tools were produced. (Hromnik, 1981, 45).

Similar Mining Techniques

Mining experts who had a chance to see and compare, at the end of the nineteenth century, the mining techniques applied in the gold mines of South India, Sumatra, Java and Mashonaland argeed that the similarity was such as to warrant the conclusion that in all three separate areas of gold was mined by the same people, while the mines of the Deccan were obviously the ones where deep mining had been pioneered. The tradition of deep mining for gold in Mashonaland remained in Indian hands through the centuries up to the most recent times. This can be proven both on historical and linguistic grounds, Analysing the evidence from a number of mines in Mashonaland before their destruction by modern mining, Roger Summers concluded that "nothing but Indian metal work appears in old mines". Summers' over all conclusion is that Indians were the original gold miners in Mashonaland. The world Mashona is derived from the word Masona, meaning the people of gold and Sona in Pali means gold. The South Indian Buddhists used Pali language.

The Indians who came in search of gold, earned the name *mwana musami*, which until today in the form of *Sami* is a widespread name for Indians in Bantu languages and dialects. (Infact *Sami* and *musami (munusammy)*, are popular Tamil names and the word *mouna* means silence) Sonapar. the name of the African Countries producing gold is a South Indian variant of the Pali name *Sonapranta*. *Sonapranta* is a south Indian Buddhist synonym of the Sanskrit *Suwarnadvipa* and prakritic *Suwarnabumi*. The name *Sonabar* was appar-

ently in common use in Africa as there are several derivations of this word in various bantu languages. In the course of the Indian sponsored gold mining, which may have lasted as long as two and half millenia, the surface of Sonapar became densely dotted with 1267 know deep and shallow workings and possibly with hundreds more unidentified ones. The influence of the cultural complex developed in Sonapar, its tint derivings from the Indian ocean and from India and Indonesia, penetrated the deepest hinterland of Africa and can be felt from Ingombe Illede (Zanbia) to Sanga (Shaba, Zaire) and Sao Salvador (Angola). (Cyril, A. Hromnik, 1981, 47-47, R. Summers, 1969, 35,132).

Long, Black Haired People did Gold Mining Long ago in Africa

When the first non Portuguese Europeans (British included) reached Sonabar in the second half of the nineteenth century, the only thing that local traditions could remember about gold mining was that is was done long ago by industrious people with long, black hair. One such "small brown man with straight black hair done in a pigtail, naked except for a loin cloth was in fact found sitting in crouching postion at the bottom of stope on the champion mine near Gwanda in Matabeleland. These industrious people were known in various regions as Magova (derived from Goa) or as Mashona. These names did not refer to any negroid Bantu people but to the often unrecognizably Bantuized Indians who were not only the only gold seekers (not forgetting the yao and Swahili traders) but also the major suppliers of cloth, beads, hoes, tools and even guns to the Bantu speakers all over Southern Africa and as far as Namaqualand. (Hromnik, 1981 53, Sumners, 1969, 137).

Indian Traders importance Noticed by Portuguese

The early Portuguese are the only Europeans who recognized and acknowleded the important role of Indian traders

and naviagators in all parts of the Indian Ocean and particularly in the East African Coast. They even called eastern Africa India, as was common since at least the time of Cosmas India Pleustes (sixth century A.D). Unfortunately (for present purposes) the Portuguese classed the people whom they met along religious rather than racial or ethnic lines. Thus, they spoke about the Moors (Mouros) in all parts of East Africa which later European writers came to translate as Arabs The Portuguese *mouro* in their records is usually accompanied by a qualifer, such as *quzerato, da India da casta, da ceita, da touca, da carapuca, sutil* etc. which indicates more frequently than not they spoke of Indian Muslims rather than Arab Muslims. This however, is generally overlooked. Down in South Africa *ama-molu* referred to Muslim and other Indians but in time with Crusaders vision of the world, the early Boers called the same men *Arabi*. Although Arabs may have been politically dominant on the eastern African coast from about the thirteenth century, the trade of the Indian Ocean was always dominated by Indians and their capital. The Indians involved in the East African trade belonged to five castes *the chetti* (South Indian trading caste *the Sanyatrik* (seafaring traders) *the Macua* (fishermen and sailors) *he Banya* (vania, Aryan caste of traders) and *ihe Sonars* (Soni, goldsmiths etc.). They participated in trade and were involved in mining. Their capital fuelled the trade and their ships sailed between India and East Africa. The whole idea of trading on credit appears to be Indian in origin. The trade articles ranged from cinnamon, pepper, and malabathrum to foodgrain, iron, copper, tin, precious stones, ivory, oils, clothing. coral, cowrie sheels, cotton wood, amber, tortoise sheel, silk, slaves and gold Some degree of secrecy was appliedto all items but most of all to gold, which was the main raison d'etre of their presence in Africa since antiquity (Cyril A. Hromink, 1981 40, P.K. Kirby, 1960, 137)

South Indian Farming Methods in Africa

Apart from Leo Frobenius and G. Montandon, H. Baumann and D. Westermann also had word to say, about the ethnic relations between Indian and Black Africa. Indeed in their work entitled *'The Peoples AnJ Civilization of Africa'* (Paris, 1948) theyhold the view that certain farming methods in the neo-Soudanese cultural cycle (manuring the ground, terracing, irigation canals etc.) are due to a wave of men who came from Southern India via Abyssinia or Ethiopia. It would appear that the path they followed from Nile to Senegal was studded with certain agricultural implements as well as with megalithic monuments associated with agrarian forms of worship.

Dr. V C. Kulandaisamy observes. "In general those nations which have achieved a high level of development in the agricultural civilization, have, normally reached high levels of achievement of in three major areas vizs 1. Development of irrigation, 2. Development of trade involving navigation 3. establishment of cities, Tamil King. have not only constructed irrigation works in their own country but also gone outside the boundaries of their homeland and established irrigation works. A book in German by name "*Weresten. Deiche and Turbinen*" wrriten by H.W. Flemming made the following observation regarding construction works in Africa by South Indians. A very highly astonishing discovery of recent research is the remains of irrigation works in South East Africa which do not belong to the cultural influences of Egypt. The high culture of Indian Dravidians who are pushed South, by the Indo-Germans had enough initiative once upon a time to penetrate into the Southeast of Africa and to build magnificent works there. These installations apparently helped the cultivation of Mountain Paddy, a verypeculiar variety of crop that has ever been come

across whole hillocks in the North East of Southern Rhodhesia, were covered with terraces whose steps are based on several layers. Masonry walls of height about 1.30 to 1.60 meters were raised at intervals of about 9 to 11 metres. The spaces between the walls were filled with earth so that horizontal beds of 10 mts breadth were formed. In all places where such terraces were found, there was also evidence of irrigation trenches which served to irrigate the fields. A highly developed form of agriculture should therefore have been practised there formerly, which was far beyond the culture Negroes presently inhabiting the place, who do not even know the meaning of those plants and are not capable of using them. Tereraces are laid only at places where the foundation (the bottom most strate) consists of granite, that is to say, only at places where there was the guarantee that the water did not seep away but was used to the advantage of the beds lying lower down Colleagues of Leo Frobenius, the reseracher from Africa, could distinguish between older terrace construction which was very carefully laid and newer ones which was not so very well built. From the stone carvings, it can be seen that the best carvings belong to the oldest of times and there was a gradual decline of this art. From legends, fairy tales and details of metal extraction processes Leo Frobenius has concluded that the high culture which gradually declined in East Africa has been associated with Indian culture.

The Mountain Paddy about which reference is made is known as 'Ivanam' in Tamil. The following poem from *Purananuru* by Vatamavannakkan Tamotaranar refers to mountain paddy

"Pariyal venda varupada Nadi
Ivanam kavalar Peydi Nandeen
Olitikaz Tirundu Mani Naniyirulagarrum
vanbila Nadan vayaman Pittan"

Again in *cilappatikaram* mention is made of mountain paddy in the following lines in *Kadukaan kaadai*, Marayon tells Kovalan as follows:

. . . . .Maaninru vilikkum
Kanamum, Yayinar kadamum, Kadanthal
Ivana vennelum, Aaraikat Karumbum
Koypoonthinaiyum kozhumbunavaragum"(XVI)

Thiru Venkatacammi Nattar states that *Ivanam* is a kind of paddy.

More Evidence Ethnic Kinship

Still on the subject of ethnic kinship between Southern India and Black Africa, mention should be made of the works of Andre Lexoi Gourhan and Jean Poirier who, in their book on the *Ethnology of the French Union* (P.V.G, paris, 1935) pointed out the similarity that existed between the various articles found in Togo and those of India such as war hatchets, daggers with ring shaped hilts, ankle rings etc. It is these very articles that D.P. de Pedrals had picked out as being elements in Montaudon's Soudanoid cultural cycle' to which he had added jewels matched by comparable ones in the making of metal weapons, the West African peuls and the Dravidians show remarkable resemblances. The Gonds of Central India, a Dravidian tribe, even now erect their houses similar to those errected by the Gallas of Somaliland.

We find similararities between the hand axes making methods of the South Indians and the Africans. Some of the weapons discovered in South and West Africa resemble South Indian ones eg. *vaal*

Serpent Cult

The cult of the serpent is another prominent feature of Dravidian India, pre-Hellenic Mediterranean world and Negro-Africa. Almost every village in Dravidian India especially the west coast belt has what is known as *Sarpa-kavu* or *naga bana*, a bush or a piece of land surrounded by the thick growth of trees and bushes where in the stone, idols of serpents are worshipped. This is also associated with a variety of rituals in which we also find, among other things, dialogues between the priest possessed by the serpent god and the devotee. Many of the rituals associated with snake worship in Africa find their parallels in the practices noticed in the western coast of southern India. The Africans believe that spirit of their ancestors live in snakes. As the dead body of a serpent (cobra) is cremated in Dravidian India with due funeral rites, it is buried by many African tribes with ritual formalities. The only difference is it is cobra in India that is sacred whereas it is python in Africa. (Leglay Tr. 1957 Le serpent dan les. rites africans in Hommage a.W. Deonna Latomus; Parrinder, 1954)

Worship of the Mother Goddess

Worship of the Mother Goddess is an important religious rite commonly noticed among the followers of this culture and we find this custom practised throughout this region. The later Indo-European ancestors of Grelus and Aryans brought with them the worship of the Gods who lived in the sky and who were just anthropomorphised forces of nature. In

contrast with these heavenly gods, the Dravidians, Aegeans and other folks of these regions worshipped primarily the great Mother goddess residing on the earth. This goddess has a male counterpart who is a passive figure. The concept of Shakti and Siva in India grew out this Dravidian belief. It is worth noting here that she is considered as Black Goddess (kali) in Indian as well as by the pre-Hellenic Greeks. She is the source of all life and also the goddess of death. Some of the Sumerian rituals relating to the marriage of the Mother goddess with the Moon God find their parallels in the temple rituals of South India especially in the marriage of Mother Goddess with Siva. The God Nyame of the Ashanti and other peoples of West Africa is considered to be female, the great mother gives life to all and is symbolized by moon. The name Great Mother is one of the epithets given to the supreme being in African religions. Murugan the god of mountains the son of the mother goddess is a prominent and typical deity of Dravidian India. It is interesting to note that at least twenty five tribes in East Africa worship "Muruga" as supreme God, and like the Dravidian god Murugan, the African Murungu resides in sacred mountains. (Parrinder. 1954. 33-37).

During the first millenium B.C. the cult of the mother goddess gradually lost its primacy in the Mediteranean regions and in the Middle East under the influence of religious transcendentalism and of the patriarchal culture of the semitic and Indo-European peoples. Dravidian India and Northern Africa, comparatively less affected by these influences, have kept these ancient beliefs with some local modifications. Even today, in almost all villages of southern India a form of the mother goddess is worshipped as a village deity and she is specially worshipped to ward off the evil spirits and contagious diseases or

epidemics and the rituals associated with the worship do not bear any influence of the Aryan customs and the Brahminical ways of worship. The word *amma* used to refer to this village goddes as well as the disease of small pox etc caused or cured by her wiil have its parallel in the same word *amma* used by the Dogons of French Sudan As in Dravidian India, altars are built in those parts of Africa also for sacrifice and communal worship for the deity *amma*.

It is worth noting the contrast between the patriarchal system and the male Gods of the later Indo European culture and the matriarchal system and the mother goddess of the ancient cultures of this region.

Other Similarities

The offering of hair by women for fulfilling a vow to God and the practice of offering a maiden to the service of Gods in temples (*Devadasi* system) are some of the rituals noticed in Ancient South Indian temples, Middle East and Mediterranean areas. Similarly the worship of the trees fig, oak, or peepul to fulfill a vow or to get boons is also a common practice in Dravidian India, Mediterranean and African regions.

It is also believed that the cult of animism originated in Ancient Babylonia and made its way to sub-saharan Africa via the carthaginian civilization which called it the cult of Astrate. This cult was later on introduced to South America by African slaves. It is likely that some of the above mentioned beliefs common to Dravidian and Negro-Africans, originated from the same source (V.P. Upadhyaya 1971 48-49; Tremearne and Rouche quoted by Lateef Noel V,A. Techno-Environmental study of Zarma cultural Institutions, Bulletin de I' IFAN)

Lion Gods and Krishna Legends Similarities

In Meroe archaeologist have found two engravings of lion gods of the first century B.C. or first century A.D. This resembles Indian God Narasimha Murti. Even in *Paripaatal* of 2nd century A.D. a Sangam classic, we find reference to lion-headed man, Devotional songs of Vaishnavism mentions about Narasimha from 5th century A.D. K.P. Aravaanan. 1977 158-160).

Prof K.P. Aravaanan also observes that Indian Krishna legend is echoed into in the African continent. African's legend's name is soni-Ali-Ber, which is an oral tradition in Africa. The legend of Krishna and that of Soni Ali Ber, resemble each other as follows.

1. Both Kamsa and Soni were rulers
2. Both had dreams
3. Both called the soothsayers
4. Soothsayers' interpretation of the dreams were alike
5. Both put their sisters in prison
6. Both killed their sister's children
7. The children of both were born in prison
8. The children were male both the cases
9. Male children were replaced by female children
10. The sisters concerned were helped by their servant maids
11. Both Kamsa and Soni tried to kill their sister's children in different ways

12. Both the kings failed in their attempts
13. The children in both the cases became warriors
14. The children killed their uncles
15. The children succeeded their uncles after assassinating them
16. The children later on became the leaders of the religions. (Krishna as an incarnation of Vishnu and the other espoused the cause of Islam).

If scholare compare the origin of the two legends they must conclude Krishna legend is the older. And in all likelihood the merchants of India who migrated to Africa were the originators of Indian legend and worship in Africa Prof. Aravaanan cites Gilbert Seater's view that God Krishna originated from the Dravidian region and on that basis concludes that Dravidian story migrated to Africa through the Indian sailors (K.P. Aravaanan 1971, 161-166)

Ancestor Worship

It is perhaps the belief in resurrection that led to ancestor worship. As in the case with Dravidian India, the Ancestral spirits play a prominent role in African and Mediterranean thought. The practice of offering sacrifices to ancestors at regular intervals is noticed in almost all African tribes from South Africa to Sahara. The Ancestors are believed to have survived death, and to be living in a spiritual world, but still taking a lively interest in the affairs of their families. The Ancestors who have not received proper burial or funeral rites become ghosts and wander between this world and the next, causing considerable harm to the members of the family. But those who are properly buried

according to accepted rituals attain divinity and rank with other gods and look after their descendents on the earth.

Both the Dravidians and Africans believed that the dead would live as spirits. Nagars kept in the grannaries the bones of the dead. This habit we also find among the Nigerians. They believe that if you do this then the granny would overflow with grains. "*Kuduvittu Kudu payum*" stories (ie the soul exchanged bodies) we can hear in plenty in plenty in West Africa too.

The art of making pottery with various designs on it, one of the achievements of the Paleolithic period, also aids us in discovering the possible relationship to these ancient races. Many archaeologists have noted resemblances between the pottery designs of Dravidian India and the Mediterranean regions. (Upadhyaya 1977 51)

Similarity of Customs Relating to Monarchy

British archaeologists called Meroe "The Birmingham of Ancient Africa" At Meroe they have discovered a picture in which an African King seated on an elephant goes in procession. This habit we find in India also.

In Africa the King and Judge are one and the same person Ancient Tamil stories like Porkai Pandyan story, Kannagi story reveal that the King was the judge in Tamilnadu also. Both the Tamil and African Kings used *Korrakkudai* (Umbrella) which was revered as equal to King.

Prof. S. Vaithilingam of Tamil University observes remarkable similarity between the royal drums of Africa and ancient Tamilnadu. In his opinion in Africa the most important symbols of kingship in the lake states were the royal drums. Through the rhythm of the drums a King communicated with his ancestors. The larger the drums a King had, the

more powerful it was believed to make him Some drums that have survived are 12 ft. across. They were housed in Shrines, where a special class of people looked after them and played them at the appropriate times. Smaller drums were used by the ordinary people for dancing and other rituals. (*Dinamani kadir* 13.8.89, 30).

Prof. S. Vaithilingam says that in Tamilnadu. *Murasu* was big drum in size. Generally the *Murasu* signified the honour of kings and chieftains in Tamilnadu. The soliders of enterprising disposition paid honour to *murasu* by immersing it in water. They offered *tinai* with blood and danced with joy. Shedding blood as an offering to *Murasu* is mentioned in the *cankam* works. The *murasu* was given an unique place with all sacredness in the great royal place. It was decorated with flowers (Puram 36:12) and placed in a stand called *murasu-kattil*. In *Purananuru* it is mentioned that the *murasu* in the temple of India resounded in the air and in other sangam works about *Kotaimurasu* (drum the sound of *murasu* heard in place *cilampu* 13:40) '*maha muraccam*' (marriage drum, *Paripatal* 8:29-35, '*Evalviyan panai*' (relating to the use of *Mursu* in war, *Pattrruppattu*) etc. The sound of war *murasu* was to harsh to those who live under the protection of able rulers. It was sweet to them (*Pattirupattu* 40:3) But to the cowardly enemies it was a source of terror and anxiety (*Mullai pattu*, 79) In fact the royal and drum wooden frame was made of the guradian tree (*kavalmaram*) of the enemy kings. *Pattirupattu* 17,5-7; 44, 15-17) The leather covering the royal drum was prepared from the hide of ferocious bullock, whose nature was to kill effortlessly its enemies (*Maduraikanci* 132-33-*puram* 2883-4). *S. Vaithilingam*, 1977, 13-15)

Other Similarities

In Tamilnadu relating to election we had '*Kudaivolai murai*' In Africa that had '*Palaver murai*' Under *Palavermurai*

inorder to elect some one or to solicit an opinion the people of the village would be asked to assemble. Decision will be taken on the basis of the majority opinion.

Some of the African images belonging to the 5th century A D. discovered at Jusplateau resemble Indian images. Tamils used a new method to cast images, and they were using this method since ancient period. First they will make our image in wax. Then they would paste a particular kind of clay called *Purtru man* on all the outside portion of the wax image; then they would dry it. Then they would heat the image. Immediately the wax inside the image will melt and came out. Only the clay image will remain. After this they would mix silver, gold Iron copper and lead and melt this amalgam of five metals. After melting they would pour this metal liquid inside the clay image cover popularly known as *Purt ru makaru* then they would make it cold. After that they would remove the clay entirely. Then only the beautiful metal image would emerge which would be also given special attention and final touch. This is a special Tamil method of casting images. We find similar methods being used in African Countries also.

We find Tamils playing an indoor game known as "*Pallankuzhi*". We can also find the same game being played in all corners of Africa. In fact in Nigeria a book has been published on the methods and rules of this game. This game is known as *Dara* in Housa language, *Ayo* in yoruba language, okwe in Ibo language, Ese in Edo language, Nsa in Efik language, and yurae in wolof and Pulaar in Senegalese languages. Likewise "*Gummiyattam*", a particular type of folk dance is popular in Tamilnadu. We find similar folk dances in Africa also. Likewise Tamil "*Kollattam*" folk dance also we can see in Arica during festival days. Tamils

use betel to make their mouths reddish. Likewise the Africans use a leaf known as *Goorje* to make their mouth reddish. In order to make their fingers ends reddish Tamils use Henna paste (lawsonia Alba paste) Paste of *Marudani* leaf. The Africans too use Henna paste.

Linguistic Similarities

In the 19th century, Alfredo Trombetti was one of the first to have the presentiment that Dravidian and Negro-African languages represented a common language, akin to Sumerian (Senghor, 1977. 10).

Cheik Tidiane N'Diaye has shown that many words and expressions denoted by the Indus Valley script can be related to Dravidian as well as Senegalese languages like Wolof and Pular. L. Homburger has brought to light for the first time some phonetics morphological lexical parallels between African languages and Dravidian languages. Though the present inhabitants of the peninsular India and Negro Africa have very few common physical characteristics due to mixture with different races, the pre-historic excavations go to prove the racial and cultural unity of these peoples (Upadhyaya, 1977, 40-45).

African Languages and Tamil: Similar Words

1. *Village, settlement*; Pulaar (Fulani) Wuro Tamil:uwr, Brahuiz ura, Sumerian= Uru.
2. *Stone*: Tamil = kal, Parji = Kal, Brahui = khal
3. *Mud, clay:* Wolof = ban, Tamil = man
4. *Cloud, water*: Wolof = niir-celoud, Tamil =niir, water, Brahnui = diir

5. *Mother*: Wolof = yaay, Serer= Yaay, Joola = Inaay, Tamil = acyiyaay, naay, taay

6. *Father:* Wolof baay Pulaar = baaba, Joola = ampa, Tamil=Appa Egypia = Ap, pappa

7. *Husband*: Joola = ata, Tamii = attaan

8. *Come*: Pulaar = ur, wara, Tamil = varu

9. *River*: Tamil aaru, Sumerian = Aa, Egyptian = Ar, Aar

10. *Way:* Tamil Paathai, vazhi, Sumerian = paat, paath Egyptian = Paath

11. *Knock*: Tamil = Taaku, Sumerian = Taak, Egyptiàn = Taaku

12. *Rice*: Tamil = Aarisi, Greek = Uryza, Germanian language Riz.

13. *Ginger*: Tamil = Inzi, Greek = Akilam, Tamil = Aavile,

14. *Tamil or Feathers of a peacock:* Tamil = Togai, Greek = Tusi

To conclude in the words of Leopold Sedar Senghur "I have the impression that the same blood, the same spirit of the Black runs through those three civilization namely Egyptian, Dravidian and Sumerian" (Senghor, 1977, 10)

In the first part an attempt has been made to discuss Tamilnadu's or more broadly speaking Dravidians ancient link with Africa. In this part an attempt will be made to discuss Modern Africa. What links both these parts is the lesson that Africa has never been completely isolated from or completely unknown to other parts of the world. She

has influences and has been influenced by forces which have shaped the history of the World.

We noticed Indian merchants including Tamil merchants, especially from Capecomerin has contacts with Africa since the ancient period. It appears even African slaves were purchased and sent to India. Richard Olaniyan says that "there was in East Africa a thriving business in slaves in which Arabs, Persians and Indian participated and their human exports to India were to be found in Bengal, Gujarat and Deccan". (Richard Olaniyan. 1982, 62). The presence of Abyssinian slaves and their part in Indian politics in the Muslims period has been a noticeable one. This is true of Bengal of this period also. General Righby wrote that "there can be little doubt that the slaves trade was about wholly due, at least in its worst aspects to European impact on the unhappy races of Africa" (C.E.B. Russel, General Righby, Zanzibar and the Slave Trade, 126) General Righby reports that he was told by the 'Banias' that when they came to African coast, the whole country was densely populated but "now it was necessary to go about 18 days journey inland before finding a village" (Ibid. 128).

Indians - Agents of Islamisation

Richard Olaniyan also says that Indians also played a role in the Islamisation of Africa. He states "we must also stress the significant role of their groups as agents of Islamisation, the Lebanese, the Syrians and the Indians in West Africa, the Arabs, Persians and Indians in North and East Africa and the Berbers and the nomaglic Tharregs in Western Sudan" (Ibid. 52). We noticed that Tamils also like other Indians had contacts with Africa, hence we can-

not underplay the role of Tamil muslims as agents of islamisation in Malaysia and Indonesia around the 15th century and hence we cannot rule out their similar role in the African countries also.

In fact the period from ninth century is marked by the rise of islamic power. The Indian ocean was full of Indian and Arab maritime activity till the sixteenth century when European nations started playing a major role in this Western Indian ocean trade. Quite a large number of coins belonging to the ruling dynasties of East Africa have been collected. But only two Indian coins have so far been found; one found at Mofia is a small state of midthirteenth century South India and the other from Mogadishu is of Shah Firuz al Bahmani (1397-1422).

Cholas Maritime Activity

The Chola Kingdom is South East of India had become a sea-power in the ninth century. In the early part of the eleventh century its ruler calimed to have *conquereed 12,000 islands*. He certainly ruled the Maldives, which supplies Cowries to African Continent. We have evidence of Tamil nadu's contact with the West and Rome even-during the first four or five centuries of the Christian era (Elliot, 1970, 35) Likewise extracts from contemporary accounts found in Dowson, Nilakantasastri works indicate the growing importance of maritime activity of Tamilnadu with the Arab and the Chinese world in the early medieval period. The most frequent in epigraphs to what may be assumed to have been foreign coins is to *dramma* which also takes the forms *dama*, *damma*, *tirama* etc and which is found in use in different areas of the Peninsula. The term *dramma* occurs in Tamilnadu in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and we associate the Chola domination of the Highseas during this

period. Epigraphic reference reveals the circulation of other varieties of foreign coins Tamilnadu. Inscription from the time of the Chola King Parantaka I (907-953) refer to the *Ilak-kasu* or *Ilakkasungasu*. Circulating in north Arcot, Tanjore, Madura, Tinnevelly, Ramnad and other districts (Chattopadhyaya, 1977 142-144) Taking these foreign contacts evidence along with Chola conquest of Kadaram and generally their predominance in the High Seas only strengthen our hypothesis that the Cholas had contacts with the African and West Asian countries also. In fact the Cholas may have given their system of weights also to Africa. Thus between the ninth and twelfth centuries Chola traders must have spread in Western Indian Ocean as they had done in the Eastern Indian Ocean. But in the thirteenth century the West Indian ocean was becoming a part of Islamic culture.

Indian Settlements

The presence of Indian settlers in this period in certain towns along the East coast of Africa is pretty clear from the available evidence. Mogadishu was inhabited by pure Arabs in 1229. A century later when Ibn .Batata visited it. he found it "an enormous city" with inhabitants who were "merchants" Some Indian merchants most have found their way there Malini was another important port town. In the 10th century it appeared that it was "a non-Arab city" though merchants from different parts of Indian Ocean visited the port. When Vasco da Gama visited it towards the end of the fifteenth century he found a considerable community of Hindus whom he destribed as "Indian Christians" out of ignorance. According to him they ate no beef. The Portugueses also found some vessels of the Banias settled in Cranganor, Malabar. In Mombasa port town there were some Hindus but at the time they were temporary

residents and Vasco-da-Gama found them "held in much subjection". But the Portuguese noted many ships of Cambay there possibly it was becoming the headquarters of theGujarat traders in the sixteenth century. There was also some rivalry between the Hindu and Muslim traders Further South of Mombasa was the Port of Kilwa. Quite a strong element of Hindu settlers was included in its population. Vascoda Gama recorded the opinion of the pilot, who piloted his ship to Calicut that half of Kilwa belonged to the Muslims and the other half to the Hindus. Another town further south was Sofala. partly settled by the Arabs of Oman and partly by the Indians (A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco Da Cama, 1497-1499, E.G Ravenstein, London, 1898. *The Three voyages of Vasco Da Gama* (1497-1524) Stanley London, 1889-cited in Amba Prasad, 1980 195-196)

Thus one finds that Indians were to be found in the various port towns on the East African Coast. Though the predominant element was that of the Arabs there is no doubt that they were mixed up with Persians, Benth and Indian elements The Culture that developed was composite culture. It seems most likely that Indians attempted to build independent settlements of their own also. El Idrise (12th century) mentions the town of Soiouna of moderate size peopled with Indians and natives. Abu-al Fida (13th century) also refers to the town of Seyonna where the King of Sofala was residing. It was propably Sena which was known for the export of gold and iron (Ibid, 176).

Mediaeval Period

In the mediaeval period there were certain important ports which figured prominently in connection with Indian ocean trade, particularly with Africa-Cambay and Somnath in Gujarat, Calicut and Cannanore in Kerala. Calicut was

becoming the entrepot for the trade in the Indian Ocean To this list, on the basis of the evidence provides by Cyril A. Hromnik, we can add also Cape Comorin as a prominent port. The prominent ports in Tamilnadu given by Periblus were Tyndis (Tondi) Muziri (Musiri) Neleynda Near Kottayam, part of Pandyan Kingdom, Comari, Colchi (Korkai) Camara (Kaveripattinam Poduca (Pondicherry, Arikamedu and Sopatma (Marakanam). And apart from Banias, and Arabs, Chettis of Tamilnadu were also actively involved in trading activities. Infact the Chettis of Coromandel had supreme control over money exchange and the trading of pearls and precious stones with the brahmins they shared the privilege of being spared by warriors and brigands. It is an important feature of the Indo-African trader and the carrier were often combined. It was the usual practice for the merchants to have their own ships. The Portuguese have noted that some Indian merchants, owned forty ships, a few owned as many as fifty ships Ibid, 196-197).

African demand for Indian goods came from two sources from the people of Africa in the interior and from the fashionable city dwellers of the Coast. The African people were fond of Indian cloth and Indian beads: the coastal communities desired besides these two commodities, gold, embroidered silks, copper, Indian spices and some precious stones. In Safola and Kilwa food stuffs came from the interior but in some of the northern towns these were imported from India. Millet, rice and wheat were taken by Indian merchants from India to Malindi and were the products of Gujarat and Konkam.

Indian cloth was being exported to Africa from India from very early times This trade seems to have continued unbroken, as in the mediavel period also, cloth is mentioned

as the principal article sent to Africa. The Bantu people liked coloured cloth and the nobility and high class ladies expressed their likings for silks with threads of gold. Fine varieties of cloth muslin and silk, were in demand in coastal towns.

India imported gold and ivory from Africa in large quantities The other commodities India imported from Africa were rhineceros horn and skin, ambergres, gum, pearls and tortoise shell. We find numerous referencess to the abundance of gold in Africa from the tenth to the fifteenth century but specific references to gold trade with India were made by Alberuni in the eleventh. Marcopolo in the thirteenth, Iba Alwardi in the fourteenth and Bargoso in the carly sixteenth century. The presence of so much gold in India in medieval times is explained by the import of African gold into India. The Bantu people had gold so much in abundance that they gave gold in exchange for cambay cloth without weighing it India had her own ivory but exerted it to Ormuz but it was inferior in quality to the African ivory So India imported ivory mostly from the ports of Mogadisu Malindi and Sofala.

Caton-Thombson, a great authority on Zimbabwe culture of Southern Rhodesia, has pointed out that the trade connection with India was "the primary stimulus which led to the development of indigenous Zimbabwe culture". In her view the beads found in the ruins at Zimbabwe came from India and Malay states during the mediaeval period, not earlier than eight to tenth centuries. In the eleventh century there was the great sea power of the Chola Kings of South India, that Indians had a flourishing and a continuous trade in gold and glass beads. Cloth from Cambay was also in great demand in this part so that there was close contact between India and Rhodesia in this period. Then the stone Ruins which consist of a vast

elliptical enclosure, with other stone walls inside and in particular a solid conical tower suggest that they constituted a Siva Temple, its conical tower was Siva linga, the eagle image in soap stone found there was probably 'Garuda' of Indian mythology. The earlier writers attributed it to the South Indian inspiration of a much earlier period. For example Walker, Van cordt are important earlier Scholars who upheld the theory of Dravidian. It is quite possible that there might have been some South Indian inspiration of the period from ninth to eleventh century or thereabout.

If the African slaves came to India in those early days, so did a large number of Indians go to East Africa for the purpose of trade and commerce and later to replace the vaccum created by the abotition of slave trade. It is not known exactly when the first Indian settlement grew up in Africa but R. Coupland in his book East Africa and its invaders writes that some sort of Indian settlement came about the some time as that of Arabs in the seventh century. Subsequently the number of such settlements increased considerably. There was however, a vast difference in the social and economic life of the Indian and Arab settlers. While the Arabs began gradually to identify themseles with the ruling class, the Indian settlers confined their activities exclusively to trade and commerce. The Arabs acquired lands and generally controlled the lucrative slave trade. The Indians were from the earliest days what they are still in East Africa the masters of finance, the bankers and also the shopkeepers. Much of the actual trade was either directly in their hands of managed by them for wealthy Arab land owners.

Indians in East Africa: 19th Century Migration

With the spread of news in India about the prosperity of the Indians in East Africa, immigration to Africa incres-

sed considerably, so much so that Col Rigby wrote in 1860 that nearly all ships in Zanzibar were kept by the Indians. Sultan Said of Zanzibar, who took control of the islands by usurping the sovereignty of Muscat in 1806, encouraged the Indians in East Africa, not only by giving them complete religious, social and economic freedom but also with service in the administration and finance, largely because the Arabs in general lacked the required skill and expertise. When Kirk arrived in Zanzibar as the political Agents of India (1866-1877) there were five to sixthousand Indians in the coastal towns and at the trade posts in the interior on. Of these about 3 660 came from British Indian or from the Indian states of Gujarat and the rest from the other parts of the Country including Tamilnadu. The large majority of the ex Indian immigrants were Moslems, belonging to the Khoja and Bohra communities. Unlike the Hindus, who came without wives and children to earn a livelihood, and return someday to their motherland, the Moslems were true colonists, bringing their families with them and making East Africa their home. Besides the Indian monopoly of trade and finance, an incidental point that the Indian rupee and not the sterling was the East African currency till the end of World war. I.

While Indians have settled in East African coastal areas for many centuries the large majority of the present Indian population in Africa is of recent growth. The heavy influx of Indians started after the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833, especially to Natal and Transvaal in South Africa, to save its vast sugar plantations from total collapse In East Africa the Indian population till the end of the nineteenth century comprised mostly traders. With the start of the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway in 1 07, over 25,000 technicians and labourers were brought

from India Of them more than 90 percent returned home after the expiry of their contracts. According to the first Report of the Uganda Raillway Committee (1903) 9000 Indians died or were invalidated. Fresh batches of professionals - doctors, lawyers engineers and teachers-from Gujarat and Punjab, Tamilnadu entered East Africa in early twentieth century and later. This fact is contrary to the belief among the Africans and the Europeans in East Africa that the present Indian population are mostly the descendants of the coolies employed during railway construction.

Thus a successive wave of Indian immigrants have gone to South and East Africa and they form a considerable proportion of the population of these Countries. In South Africa they total just a little short of half million, in Natal Province as a whole there are 3,00,000 Indians. In Southern Rhodesia and Zambia their number is less than 10,000 and in Malavi they are only 3,000. In East Africa their number is nearly 4,00,000. In Mozambique they number 50,000. The number of Indians in the rest of Africa is very small.

Apart from labour supply the Indian community has contributed to all aspects of African life trade, finance, industry, skilled occupations and agriculture. The Indians were playing a role not only in the retail and wholesale commerce of East Africa, they were also playing an important part as the principal financiers and bankers. The largest number of Indians were in retail trade. Johnstone, who was Commissioner of Uganda (1899-1901) expressed the view that Indians introduced trade where it did not exist before. The Indian shop was called *duka* which was stocked with all kinds of provisions, accessories and goods of every day use.

Indians have been active in establishing small scale and large scale industries. Starting with a small capital they

are now manufacturing commodities of every day use such as electric appliance. washing soap, glass ware etc and have developed the crafts of shoe making and the manufacture of wood and cork. Saw milling has also been promoted by Indian enterprise.

Large scale industry also attracted the attention of Indians. They were pioneers in setting up of mills for producing cotton seed oil and groundnut oil and in the introduction of sugar. Though not pioneer Indians are now largest owners of cotton ginneries, Coffee and the plantations were first owned by Europeans. As the European planters started leaving, Indians have purchased most of these plantation.

Compartmentalisation of Society

Dharmam P. Ghai observes (in 1969) "one of the most striking features of colonial rule in East Africa was the compartmentalisation of society into three or so racial groups which was reinforced by economic, social and political discrimination and segregation. There were for instance separate residential areas for the different communities, separate schools, hospitals, maternity homes, clubs etc, on the political level the institution of seperate electoral communal representation stimulated racially po litical parties and made racial interests inevitable as political issues. On the economic level the compartmentalisation was reinforced by a racial salary structure in public and imitatively in the private sector, by the exclusion of non-whites from the "white Highlands" of Kenya and restrictions on Asians on land ownership and cultivation especially in Kenya and Uganda by the existence of African reserves and wide disparities in the quality and number of different races. The result of all these policies was to preserve and strengthen the political, economic and

social dominance of the Europeans in East Africa. The Asians (Pakistanis and Indians only) tended to occupy the middle place in the system while Africans were always at the bottom. Despite occasional and specific protests for the most part Asians tended to acquieses in this system ... Asians in particular remained in social isolation from other groups In the past most Asian African relationships have been at the shopkeeper customer or master servant level, neither of them calculated to inspire sympathetic understanding or good fellowship. Most Asian social organisations are enclosed to outsiders ... Fortunately some of the old barriers to interracial social mingling are breaking down (1969) There are many forces at work which could in the long run lead to .. genuine social integration. But perhaps the most powerful forces at work in the newly integrated kindergarden school and Universities" (1969).

Indian Struggles

In the struggle for racial equality and political rights in South and East Africa, Indians have been in the forefront. East African Indians were the first to start agitation against segregation in townships. As aresult the segregation policy has to be given up in 1923. Indians also launched and carried on agitation against the reservation of Highlands for Europeans. Another Indian contribution was their fight for the common Roll. This demand which was first made at the end of World war I was repeated a number of times and was aimed at securing equal rights for all races, Africans, Indians and Europeans. There was also the Indians participation in the national movement in Kenya from early twenties. Indian encouragement to Harry Thuku was well known. From 1946 to 1952 Indian African cooperation was at a high pitch in the political agitation In fact Indian support for the national movement was held to

be responsible for the Mau Mau Movement. More fact and examples could be mentioned of Indian African cooperation in the political field but the above sufficiently shows that Indians have helped directly and indirectly in the development of political consciousness in Africa.

During the European colonial domination in Africa. Africa was not only politically dominated but also economically exploited. The European considered the Africans as social inferiors incapable of governing themselves. And during this period the British colonial Government in Africa imported Indian labour and talents from British India. Since there was unemployment and underemployment in British India. some educated Indians migrated to British African Colonies to earn money. Hence many educated Indians including many Tamils including Tamil Christians served in the British colonial civil service of Africa. However these Tamils and other Indians were not paid very high salaries, eventhough they were paid more salary then that they were getting in Tamilnadu and in other parts of British India. But many of the Tamils who went to Africa did not settle permanently in Africa. Mostly they left their families in Tamiladau, educated their children in Tamilnadu and visited them during holidays once in two years. These Tamils, were runings their own mess, wherever necessary where south Indian delicacies were prepared. In fact when Britain's colonial role ended in these British African States, many Tamils voluntarily opted for retirment and came back to India. Among the Indian businessmen the most flourshing were the Gujartis and Sindhis. The Chettiyars who played a dominant commercial role in southern Asia, played only a subsidary in Africa in the twentieth century.

After independence

After their independence, many of the African States were in search of talents to develop their nation. Hence many

Indians including many educated Tamils went to Africa and West Asian countries. These Indians migrated to African countries because 1 India has friendly relations with them 2. Both the Governments under cultural agreement recruit educated, especially technically qualified Indians and send them to Africa on contract basis, 3. there is demand especially for technically qualified Indians, 4. the pay is more attractive than in India 5. there is unemployment and under employment in India including in Tamilnadu. And these Tamils and other Indians contribute richly to the development of Africa. But they don't try to settel down permanently there. They live there for sometime, earn money and came back to Tamilnadu. During their husband contract period, educated Tamil girls who accompany their husband's, work in schools and earn a fat salary, as for example, in Nigeria.

French African Colonies

These observations are true not only relating to former British African Colonies but also relating to former French African colonies. The major difference in the French colonial policy was the administration of French African Colonies where the administration was highly centralised. France treated her Colonies as France's political and economic unit and simply regarded them as "Overseas France". This meant that the territories under the French empire were legally part of France proper, eventhough they were culturally different and physically separtated by water and distances. The French officially had the basic aim of assimilating the inhabitants of their Colonies into French culture and civilizaation, a civilization, which they assumed to be the best inthe world. This policy, in which however, they in large measure failed, was informed by egalitarian ideas which huve been

gaining ground ever since the French Revolution. As a result the French started out with the intention of creating a system that would transform Africans into French Citizens so that they can enjoy the same rights and privileges as those actually born in France proper.

The French followed the same colonial policy in the French Empire including in Pondicherry in Tamilnadu. And during the French rule therefore from the French territories in Tamilnadu, Tamils migrated to French African territories. But the common language for both the Tamils and the French Africans was French. Many Tamils hence served in the French African colonial civil service. As a result Tamil and Tamilnadu became popular in many British and French African States. For example in Senegal even Tamil language was taught in the University. (Details already discussed in the Chapter on Other French Tamils)

Tamils of Africa

To day we find Tamils in Kenya. Somalia, Uganda, Tanjania, Zambia, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Libya, and in the Middle Eastern countries. There Tamil work in these Countries as teachers, professors, Engineers, accountants, doctors, experts on technology etc. Tamils migrated to Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika and Madagascar even in the 19th century. Mauritius Tamils migrated and settled in Kenya even in the 19th century. They went there to work in Kenyan Sugarcane plantations. They have all forgotten Tamil. The British motive in exporting Tamil labourers was to make them work in sugarcane plantations. After 1947 many Tamils and Keralities went as teachers. We find Srilankan Tamils in large numbers in Zambia and Nigeria. Today there are in Kenya 79,000, Mozambique 22,043 Tanzania 59,000 in Aden one lakh, in

Yemen 1 lakh, Afganistan 30,000, Saudi Arabia 1.2 lakh Kuwait 65,000, Iraq 20,250, and Iran 20,800 Indians.

Tamils in their houses try to preserve Tamil traditiou Bharatanatyam, Tamil songs, drama. *Kummi Kollattum* are also taught in Zambia in their houses by the Tamils They celebrate festivals like *Pongal.* Tamil Cinema is popular among Tamils, Especially in Nigeria old Tamil movies are popular. Tamil sarees are popular in Kampola. However in 1972 all Indians including Tamils were sent out of Uganda. eventhough the number of Tamils living in Uganda were only a few. And some of them during this period in Uganda returned to Tamil nadu. It appears generally Indians are liked by West Africans, whereas East Africans comparatively dislike and distrust the Indians, who dominated their middle and top layers of the economy.

Libya

Sri. R. Venkatakrishnan, M.I.E. who lives io Libya gives the following information given below under Libya:

"Libya is a North African State. Its total populatinn is 30 lakhs. Because it has oil resources and industrial development opportunities, job opportunities are there and people from all over the world come and work in this State. As a result Libya looks like a small United Nations Organisation.

Many Indians work here in Libya; we can find people from all parts of India coming and working here. Especially at Prega in the big Neypatko Manure Factory many Tamils work.

All factories and industries are nationalised and hence are State properties. The official and common language is

Arabic. All the top officials are Libyans. Generally, officials exchange ideas relating to science and technology in Arabic. Even the official meetings are conducted in Arabic and office files language is Arabic. They converse in English only with foreign officials and labourers. They also correspond with them in English.

In the Manure Factory at Prega in the Manure Export section more than a majority of the officials and workers are Tamils. Hence the Libyan workers working in this section have learnt conversation Tamil. Tamils also have learnt Arabic. It surprises us to see Libyans talking in Tamil, much more than that it is sweet and pleasant to listen them to talking in Tamil.

We find many Tamilians working in all sections of the Manure Factory in Prega. As a result within the factory all Tamil converse among themselves in Tamil and even use Tamil while using the Phones in the factory. Those who see this might even wonder whether Tamil is the link language in Libya. Libyans who don't understand Tamil on such occasions requests the Tamils to converse in the English language. Probably even in the factories in Tamilnadu people don't use Tamil as much as the Tamils of this factory."

Tamil Films

"Tamilians of Libya are not as fortunate as the Tamilian of West Asia. The latter get Tamil movies and Tamil magazines. But the Libyan Tamils don't get these things except now a days Tamil video films. Hence a few Tamil video clubs are active. And the Libyan Tamils as a result are able to enjoy Tamil films. Even the Libyans love watching Tamils Films. And sometimes even Hindi films are shown in Libyan Cinema Theatres and in the Libyan T.V. But they don't

show Tamil films. However Libyans buy and see the Tamil films from the video clubs. Among the Indian languages in Libya most of the films you get in Libya are Tamil films; hence many Libyans think that Tamil is a language spoken by a majority of the Indians.

Tamils also get Tamil film songs, videos. which the Libyans love watching. Many Libyans believe that Tamil film songs are sweet to listen to, but at the same time they don't think that listening to Tamil conversation is that sweet. Libyans are not aware of *Tirukkural* or other Tamil literature·

SriLankan Tamils

Many Sri Lankan Tamils also work as labourers in Libya. In fact it is pleasant to listen to their sweet Jaffna Tamil conversation. Their wages are comparatively low and hence they not are able to buy videos and see. So other Tamils invite them to their houses to see Tamil films. And they too love watching Tamil films.

Similarities in Life Style

We find Libyan food habits resembling Tamilian food habits. Some Libyans in physical appearance resemble Tamilians. Libyans like us Tamils eat rice. They and spices, including mustard. The soup they prepare resemble our *rasam*. They like our *sambar*. Libyan girls following old Libyan custom wear a dress which resemble our sarees. Men also, like our men, wear similar dresses, Only Modern Libyan girls wear European dress. Even some Sudannese glrls living in Libya much to our surprise wear a dress which resemble our sarees. They love our silk sarees and weave textiles like the way we make our silk sarees They love our art products. Their toilet style resemble Indian toilet style. In Tamilnadu during

marriage celebrations women pay dowry but in Libya men pay dowry even to the extent of 4,00,000 rupees. Hence many Libyan remain unmarried.

Tamils in Libya have not gone to Libya with the idea to settle there permanently. Hence they have no enthusiasm to organise Associations, Clubs etc. But the Tamils, meet often, exchange Tamil magazines and pleasentries. But only a very few have love for propagating Tamil language. But Tamils have earned name as hardworking people in the whole of West Asia; hence Tamils are given preference and offered jobs in all these Countries. And these Tamils who go abroad not only preserve our culture but also act as the ambassadors of our Country."

South Africa

A majority of the Tamils are aware of Gandhiji's role in South Africa's *Apartheied* or racial discrimination policy. South Africa occupies the southern most portion of the African Continent, stretching from the Limpopo River in the north to Cape Agulhas in the South. To the north South Africa shares common boundaries with the territory of South West Africa, now known as Namibia, the Republic of Botswana and Zimbawe, while the Republic of Mozambique and the independent Kingdom of Swaziland lie to the north-east. South Africa has a surface area of 11,23,226 Sqkm. (4,33, 678). This excludes the republics of Trenskei, Bophuthaswana, Ciskei and Venda, which are independent States. South Africa consists of four Provinces-The Cape Province; the Orange Free State, Natal and Transval. The four principal cities are (in order of population) Johannesburg Cape Town, Durban and Pretoria.

Tamilnadu - South Africa Relations

Geographically isolated, as it may be, South Africa nevertheless occupies an important strategic position at the junction of the Indian and Atlantic oceans. This fact too has helped to shape its history and development Surrounded by ocean on three sides, South Africa has a lengthy coastline.

Tamil Migration: 19th Century

By the beginning of the 19th century Tamilnadu became a part of the British Empire in India. Especially after the establishment of British rule thousands of Indians migrated overseas in the 19th and part of the 20th centuries. They went mainly to other parts of British empire, including

South Africa. The exodus included people from the north eastern and Western parts of India, but those from the South were in a majority.

Reasos for Migration: Drought

The emigrants went as contract labourers, indentured or otherwise. Some went independently as free immigrants. The reasons for the migration is the subject of a serious debate among scholars. Droughts and famines are usually given as the main reasons for the migration. However, the direct and indirect influence of British policies on the 19th century migrations cannot be ignored.

New Imperial Policies: Cash crops

New imperial policies encouraged the growth of cash crops among India's peasant farmers. Britain required raw material from India to advance the industrial revolution, and to expand her commercial interests. Peasants who normally grew food crops were encouraged to grow instead cotton; and while the need for cotton lasted (as for example during the American civil war), the cash crops fetched good prices. Acreage under cotton cultivation doubled; however, when the prices dropped, the peasants found themselves overstocked with cotton and under supplied with food-grains. They had borrowed money in good times, but could not repay their loans in bad times Droughts occured. If peasant farmers were not already displaced, they took the road going to towns and cities looking for work.

Import of Cheap British Goods

India's indigenous craftsmen suffered heavily as a result of the importation of cheap British goods. These craftsmen were forced to return to the countryside for subsistence.

Towards the end of the 19th century India's economy was more village based than at the beginning of the century. There was some expansion of British and Indian industries, but this was not enough to absorb the craftsmen displaced or peasants driven off their land.

Heavier Taxation

In addition to these hardships, Britain imposed heavier taxation to make Indians pay for the war of 1857-58. It seriously hurt the subsistence economy of India which upto the middle of the 19th century was self-sufficient.

Famines and Epidemics

There was, furthermore; a decade of unprecedented famines and epidemics between 1868 and 1878. The Deccan and Southern India were the worst affected in the years 1876 to 1878. Famine also took its toll in Rajputana (1868-69) and Bengal (1873-74). The failure of the rains was the immediate cause, but the effects of British Commercial policies made the impact very severe indeed. The cash economy had made inroads into traditional local grain storage; and the bonds of intervillage dependence had become weak. The famine of 1895-90 had a calamitous impact. In the Deccan there were violent peasant uprisings.

Local Labour in Plenty Or none

But why, one most ask, were Indians ever brought as indentured labourers to South Africa? That country, after all, unlike Mauritius or the sugar islands of the Caribbean, contained a substantial black African population. On might have expected that the reservoirs of man power, which from the beginning provided the massive unskilled labour force

required by South Africa's gold and diamond mines, could have met its plantation needs as well. Yet such was not to be the case. Geography and political economy together dictated a different outcome. The only area of South Africa suitable for plantation agriculture is the warm well watered coast of Natal, facing the Indian ocean. In the 1850's the colony of Natal, annexed to the British empire only a decade earlier after the expulsion of the Boer trekkers, contained a straggling white population, mostly British, of under 10,000. Within the colony there lived in addition from 120 to 150 thousand Africans Outside it, in the as yet unsubjugated areas of Zululand, resided perhaps a quarter of a million more Africans Surely there seemed to be labour in plenty. Infact there was almost none.

Paternalistic Protection for Africans

When first the Boers, and then the British, moved into Natal, its African population had been much reduced by the devastating wars of Shakha's Zulu State. Vast tracts of land were therefore unoccupied, and at once laid claim to by the earliest white settlers. By 1849, nearly to million acres of land had been divided among 360 claimants. A decade later fifteen men controlled 700,000 acres. For such land holders direct capitalist farming was out of the question. Indeed, most were speculators, whose limited capital was wholly tied up in the purchase of land who sought a return in a later appreciation of its value. In the meantime these men joined after 1860 by the Natal land and colonisation company, with its mammoth holdings of half a million acres-found in the extraction of rent from African tenents the most attractive way of securing some return on their investment. They had no interest in measures designed to force the Africans off the land and into labour relationships.

While the speculators were purchasing their broad acres the colonial Government was developing a policy of paternalist protection for the Africans flooding back with the end of the wars into the colony. Under Theophilus Shepstone the Government set aside native reserves in Natal totalling two million acres, in which the authority of the traditional chiefs was reaffirmed and white settlement prohibited. Though inadequate to maintain twentieth century populations these reserves were expressly made large enough at the time to avoid, in Shepstone's Words, "so crowding the Kaffirs as to compel them to leave their location and seek work". Hence those Africans-by no means all of course-who settled on the reserves were able to resume their traditional subsistence agriculture. Their hut taxes, and other obligations, they could meet by the cultivation of commercial crops on part of their land. Indeed, with only a small and largely urban white population in Natal, many African cultivators found in the towns a needy market for their produce and so prospered.

System of Reserves and Erratic Labour Supply

Between the reserves, with their bulwarking of the traditional economy and the tenancies available on crown and speculators' land the African had little incentive to labour for a wage for a white farmer. Yet plantation agriculture, above all such demanding crops as sugarcane, where the cane had to be cut as soon as it ripened, could not subsist with an erratic and uncertain labour supply. From the beginning therefore the white famers had railed against the system of reserves. One Natal newspaper listed what was required: "the breaking up of the locations; a read justment of native taxation; the cautious but firm discouragement of the heathen customs that bind the Kaffir to and indolent and licentius life; a more comprehensive an stringent magisterial surveillance......" and so on. But none of this was practical

politics. So encouraged by the example of Mauritius, were Indian labour had reversed the decline of its sugar industry since 1843, Natal farmers turned in 1860 to the importation of indentured labourers from India. (Thomas R. Metcalf, 1986,350-352).

Indentured Labour Indispensable For Sugar Industry

The Natal sugar industry had its origins in the 1850s as one among a number of experiments designed to find a profitable export crop for the fledgling economy. In this competition sugar faced several disadvantages. Natal's mild subtropical climate, first of all, enforced longer growing seasons and lower yields than were found in the hotter, moister lands of the tropics. Nearby Mauritius, with its flourishing sugar Industry, provided not only a model and a source of talent for many of Natal's planters and their technical staff came from that island. It also provided its upstart rival, in an era of free trade, with stiff competition both in export market and in South Africa itself. Nor was the local market, before the development of the Rand gold mines in the 1880s at all expansive. Hence indentured labour was indispensable to a successful sugar industry.

Majority of Indian Labourers Tamils

This then is the overall background necessary to understand the migration of hundreds of thousand of Indians who migrated overseas in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first batch of Indian labourers from Madras reached Port Natal (Durban) on 17 November 1860. It may not be wrong to assume that a majority of them were Tamils from the Tamil districts of the then Madras Presidency.

Inhuman Regulations

The labourers, on their arrival, were assigned to different employers for a period of three years later extended to

five years by Law No. 17 (Natal), 1864-under indentured coolies were half slaves, bound over body and soul by a hundred and one inhuman regulations. At the end of the five year period the indentured labourer could live and work freely. He was then entitled either to a free passage home or to a grant of crown land in Natal inlieu of the free passage.

The freedom of the indenture - expired labourers was in practice restricted and hampered in many ways. He had to obtain a permit which alone would enable him to move about from place to place. If he married and desired that the marriage should be recognised as legally valid by the Natalauthorities, he had to register the marriage with the protector of Indian immigrants. He was subjected to a number of other restrictions.

When immigration into Natal commenced in 1860, the employers and the coolies did not enter into written legal contracts. This lapse left the coolies without any direct and legal means of remedy against any possible infringement of the terms of contract by their employers. The terms of contract were actually infringed by the employers soon after the arrival of immigrants. The employers who were required to meet out fair treatment to the labourers began to illtreat them with impunity. They were irregular in paying wages to the labourers. Often their wages fell in arrears and in many cases were not paid at all. Labourers were not given rations which they were entitled to in terms of their service contract. Some planters instead of issuing the full ration of rice gave the labourers half rice and half mealie meal. If a coolie fell sick, a shilling a day was stopped from his wages of 10 shillings a month. Therefore a month's illness meant the loss of three month's wages.

Natal received 1,52,184 indentured Indians between 1860 and 1911. It is difficult to be exact about the percentage of 1,52,184 which was Tamil. Almost two thirds of the total embarked from Madras and it is quite likely that over 60 percent were Tamil speaking individuals; about one third of the total came from the Gangetic Valley and spoke Bhojpuri.

Indian labourers were followed by free Indian immigrants from 1891 onwards as traders from India and Mauritius and by Indians of other professions. Whereas the mass of Indian labourers were Tamils, the traders were mostly from Gujarat and Kathiawar and had a higher social standing. After 1874 anti-Indian feelings began to develop in South Africa. In 1893 law was passed compelling all Indian immigrants who had completed the period of indenture and opted to stay in Natal to pay an Annual Poll Tax of *L*3. In 1894 Natal Government brought a bill completely disenfranchising Indians. Indians protested under the leadership of M.K. Gandhi. Inspite of Indian's civil disobedience movement under Gandhi, Transvale in 1907 compelled every Indian to take out a certificate of Registration.

Union of South Africa's New Regulations

The Union of South Africa came into being in 1910 and the Government of India finally prohibited the immigration of indentured labour from India into Natal with effect from 1st July 1911. The immigration of free Indians into the colony was not, however, banned.

The Union immigrants Act of 1913 gave a new affront to the Indian community. It authorised the Union Minister of the Interior to declare certain classes of persons as 'pro-

hibited immigrants' on 'economic grounds' or 'on account of their standards and habits of life being unsuited to the requirements of the Union of South Africa. The Act prohibited the free movement of Asians from one Province to another within the Union. The Minister of the Interior abused his power by declaring All Asians to be 'prohibited immigrants' and Indians flet aggrieved at this.

The Union Government added insult to injury by its refusal to recognise marriages consecrated in the Indian way ie unregistered marriages. The Union Supreme Court too decided that such marriages were not valid. Indian wives, in the eyes of the law, were therefore mere concubines and their children were not legitimate.

Gandhiji's Satyagraha

Gandhi launched a *Satyagraha* movement and this time invited women to offer *Satyagraha*. Valliamma, a young Tamil of sixteen participated in this *Satvagraha* and along with other *Satyagrahis* was arrested. In the jail she had a deadly fever and died. Gandhiji says: And the name of Valliamma will live in the history of South African *Satyagraha* as long as India lives"

Almost every Indian worker in Natal went on strike. This strike was a success. The Government in response, abolished the £3 poll tax. Further Indian Marriages were validated and wives and children of Indians already resident in South Africa were to join them.

Background of Tamil Labourers

Prof. Surendra Bhana of University of Durban - Westville observes "When one looks at the background of those

who came (to South Africa) my own researches have shown that agricultural castes perdominated. Often they were peasants or artisans at the lowest socio economic ladder of society. An analysis of the ship's registers show that Pariah, Venniah, Vellalen castes perdominated. The castes most heavily represented in the lists are alphapetically arranged. Balji (or Balija) Chetty, Ediya, Gararee, Gounde, Golla, Kawarai Kappo, Kamma, Mala, Moodley, Oddy, Padayachee, Reddy, Uppara, and Wooda(y). The list included, as you can see some higher castes as well.

The largest percentage of Tamil speakers came from Arcot, Chingleput, Chittoor, Madras, and Vellore districts. Other districts that sent a regular supply of indentured labourers are: Coimbatore, Conjeevaram, Cuddalore, Gonda, Madura, Madurantakam, Mysore, Nellore, Palloor, Salem Sydapet, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Trivellore and Vizagapattinam. You would be interested to know the names that occur most frequently; Govinda(n), Kuppan, Arunachellan, Chinnasami Chengadu, Mooneesamy Moonien, Perumal, Ramsamy Rangasamy, Veerasamy, Vencatachellam and Vencatasamy".

Most of the South Indians came as indentured labourers although many came *independently* as free immigrants. As indentured labourers the Indians were expected to serve 5 years terms. At the end of the *terms* they could renew their contracts for another 5 years (which relatively few did) return to India or remain in the colony as free *individuals*. By 1911, two-thirds of the immigrants had decided to stay, al. though by 1930 many of the original immigrants had retured to India. As indentured labourers, the Indians worked on the sugar or tea estates, the Collieries the Wattle industry the Natal Government Railways or the municipalities. Many turned to market - gardening hawking, and trade upon the

termination of their indentures. In early 1900s, the first generation of Indians, the sons and daughters of indentured persons, were moving into the professions, civil service or industries in the urban centres of South Africa.

Prof. Surendra Bhana with keen insight observes: "The question that arises is can one separate Tamils for a separate historical treatment from among the individuals who were gradually beginning to assume new identities in their new surroundings? Unless one selects Tamil names, and writes individual biographies of them, it is difficult to separate Tamils from the non-Tamils. The forces that shaped the history of South African Indians affected all equally. On the estate or the collieries, the employers did not make distinction between Tamils and non-Tamils. It was the same in the schools attended by Indian children. And in politics Tamils and non-Tamils did not make any distinction when responding unitedly. There were outstanding individuals like P.K. Gounden and Thambi Naidoo, both Tamils who were in the forefront of the *Satyagraha* movement during Gandhi's time. But their actions were determined by their commitment to the movment rather than to narrow, ethnic considerations. Over 20,000 Indians went on strike in 1913, many of them joined the Great March from Natal to Transvaal. Their action appears to have been in formed by a rising political awarness of their rights as Indians. They were all responding to larger social, economic and political forces in the country".

Anti-Indian Agitations

During the years between the two world wars anti-Indian agitation flared up afresh. Boycott movements agains Indian traders started in the Transvaal, while in Natal demands were made to segregate the Indian community. There were also

those who demanded that the Indians be compulsorily sent back to India. The year 1943 saw the passing of "pegging" Act (The Trading and occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act) which set apart separate areas for Indians and forbide the purchase of land outside those areas. The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, restricted the acquisition and occupation of land by Asiatics throughout the union and granted them communal franschise. The Act demacrated predominently Indian areas as scheduled areas. The Group Areas Act of 1950 and its various amendments divided the South African population into racial groups for the purposes of segregating them into distinct areas. This Act created rigid social barriers which prevented association between white and non-white in practically every sphere of human activity, ranging from the sharing of public amenities to that of marriage. In protest against the passing of the Group Are- as Act the Indian Government severed in 1954 its diplomatic links with South Africa.

Role in Politics

The South Africa Act of 1909 took away the right of Asians to sit in Parliament. In 1946 the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act offered Indians communal represent-ation which they refused to accept. The Nationalist Govern-ment withdrew this representation in 1949 and Act itself was repealed in 1950 by the Group Areas Act. Subsequently by another piece of legislation, the Coloured and Asian voters were removed from the common roll and placed on a com-munal roll. Asians were entitled to elect four representa-tives to the House of Assembly, but the representatives must be whites.

The South African Indian Council (SAIC) was estabished in 1964 to act as a liaison between the Special Department

of Indian Affairs (now known as Internal Affairs) and the Indian community. To begin with, the council had 21 appointed members. Later the membership was increased to 25, still later to 30 (15 appointed and 15 elected not directly but through electoral colleges). The ideal remained a Council comprising only directly elected members.

The functions of the Council as described in the South African Indian Council Act of 1968 include the following. (i) to advise the Government on all matters that affect the economic, social, cultural, educational and political interests of the Indian population of the republic; (ii) to make recommendations to the Government, about any planning which, in the opinion of the Council, will promote the interests of the Indian population, (iii) and to serve as a direct link between the Government and the Indian population.

In January 1975, the Prime Minister announced that the Council would be turned into a fully elected body with legislative powers, having a cabinet as executive councill The first election was held in November 1981. In an election marked by very low polls (an average of about 10.5 percent) the Cape Province returned three members, the Transvaa. ten and Natal twenty seven to give a total of 40 members for the new SAIC. Despite the low poll the South African Government had made it clear that it regarded the SAIC as the only representative body for the Indian community at national level. The first session of the fully elected SAIC was opened on 22nd February 1982 by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr. J.C. Heunis.

In September 1984 the Republic of South Africa gave up the Parliamentary System of Government and switched

over to an elaborate Presidential System with a tri-cameral parliament for the white, mix-blood coloured, and Indian minorities. Together they account for just under 30 percent of the total population of 29 million. The remaining 70 percent who are black in *apartheid* parlance, a term applied only to Negroes will continue to have to look for their political fulfilment to the fragmented tribal homelands, which Pretoria would have the outside world accept as separate states They occupy less than 14 percent of the South African land mass. All blacks are regarded as citizens of these tribal mini-states.

The previous 178 member House of Assembly has become the White Chamber of the new Parliament To this have been added an 85 member House of Representatives for Coloureds and a 45 member House of Delegates for Indians Members have been elected by their respective racial groups on separate voters' rolls.

Under the new Constitution elections to the segregated Houses for the Coloureds and the Indians were held on 22 and 28 August 1984, respectively. But only 30 percent of the Coloured voters and 17 percent of the Indian voters exercised their franschise. The new Constitution came into force on 2 September 1984 thereby ending 74 years of minority white rule and inaugurating an era of segregated government that includes non-whites but continues to shut out the nation's 22 million Blacks.

Mr. Pieter Willeim Botha, Prime Minister for the past six years, had been elected on 14 September 1984 as the first executive President of the Republic of South Africa. The next day the President appointed an Indian and a coloured man to his cabinet, making them the first non-whites to hold ministerial rank in South Africa. Mr. Botha named Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the dominant Labour

Party in the Coloured House and Mr. Amichand Rajbansi of the Indian National Peoples' Party as Ministers without Portfolio in his 20 man (rest whites) Cabinet.

At the first global convention of people of Indian origin in New York in August 1989 Mr. Kumaran Naidoo of South Africa condemned the attitude of the "Indian minority" who were supporting the regime by allowing themselves to be nominated to a third chamber which enjoyed neither power nor influence. Their role created some group tension between the Indians and the majority Blacks. But, he noted that, as against this small group the majority of the Indians in South Africa had identified themselves with the majority community (*The Hindu* (Madras) September 1, 1989).

Municipal Government

The municipal franschise is controlled in each Province by respective provincial ordinances. In the Transvaal and in the Orange free state the non-white people have at no time enjoyed any form of municipal franchise. In Natal, Indians were deprived of municipal franschise in 1924. They lost representation in the local health bodies in 1926. An Ordinance of 1940 excluded Indians from the Town Boards Health and Malaria Committees.

The Local Government Extension Ordinance of 1963 provides for the creation of local affairs Committees in Indian areas, whose members are wholly nominated in the first year and wholly elected in the fourth by Indians 21 years and over with certain property qualifications. There are several Local Affairs Committees in the Indian areas of Natal-similar Committees are called Consultative Committees in the Transvaal and the Cape. These Committees are an avenue of communication between the local Municipalities are required by law to consider any suggestion or comments

made by such a Committee on a wide range of matters that affect Indian residents.

Population

INDIAN IMMIGRATION TO NATAL

Year	Number	Year	Number
1860	1,226	1886-87	496
1861	368	1887-88	897
1862	—	1888-89	1,585
1863	1,021	1889-90	4,124
1864	1,979	1890-91	4,330
1865	1,320	1891-92	3,349
1866	534	1892-93	3,119
1867	—	1893-94	3,612
1868	—	1894-95	3,592
1869	—	1895-96	3,337
1870	—	1896-97	4,038
1871-72	—	1897-98	6,036
1872-73	—	1898-99	4,958
1873-74	—	1899-1900	4,590
1874-75	5,025	1900-01	6,312
1875-76	393	1901-02	7,763
1876-77	761	1902-03	6,140
1877-78	3,510	1903-04	4,601
1878-79	4,452	1904-05	9,436
1879-80	743	1905-06	8,108
1880-81	2,378	1906-07	10,047
1881-82	2,229	1907-08	6,664
1882-83	1,647	1908-09	1,722
1883-84	2,775	1909-10	2,935
1884-85	3,548	1910-11	6,257
1885-86	—	1911-12	3,401

INDIAN POPULATION OF NATAL

Year	Number	Year	Number
1862	1,184	1897	53,370
1866	5,041	1900	70,369
1870	4,858	1901	74,385
1874	6,787	1902	79,777
1877	12,823	1903	79,857
1880	18,877	1904	100,918
1883	26,978	1905	108,409
1885	29,357	1906	112,126
1888	35,270	1907	113,807
1891	35,411	1908	116.679
1894	41,142	1909	118,714

Source: COLONY OF NATAL: Statistical Year book for the Year 1909, Pieter Maritzburg, 1910, 3.

1980 population census (excluding republics of Transkei. Bophathatswana and Venda)

Total Population	2,48,85,940
Whites	45,28,000
Coloureds	26,12,000
Blacks	1,69,23,000
Asians	8,05,000

LANGUAGE-WISE BREAK DOWN (approx) OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN POPULATION

Language	Percentage	Population (approximately)
Tamil	37	2,96,000
Hindi	33	2,64,000
Gujarati	14	1,12,000
Urudu	9	72,000
Telugu	7	56,000

Many Tamils live in Natal. 29, Oct. 1983 *London Times* gives the following sources: White 4.6 million, (i.e. 46 lakhs) the Coloureds (about 27 lakhs) and the Indians about 8,50,000.

Religion

The majority of the Indian immigrants in the four Provinces of South Africa profess Hinduism and Islam. Hindus came mainly from the Madras Presidency and northern India, and Muslims (about 20 percent) from Bombay and Gujarat. The Hindus, who constitute nearly three - fourths of South Africa's Indian population (about 70 percent) came to reside primarily in Natal where the majority of them were originally employed on sugar and tea plantations. A comparatively small percentage of Hindus also came and settled in the Transvaal and the Cape Provinces chiefly as traders.

Birth of Hinduism in Africa : Hindu Temples

The Tamils in South Africa are mostly worshippers of Siva and hence followers of Saivism. Most of their Temples

here are dedicated either to Siva or Muruga. The majority of the Hindu Temples in South Africa have been planned and built by Tamils for Tamil congregations and hence are strongly Dravidian in character.

The Shree Subramaniar Alayam erected on the Southern bank of the Umbilo and the Emperumanar Alayam in Mount Edgecombe and the Magazine Barracks Temple at Somtsen Road are believed to have been among the first South African Hindu Temples built about 1875. The oldest existin South African Hindu Temples are believed to be the Narayanasamy Temple (1896) at Newlands and Ganesha Temple (1899) at Mount Edgecombe, both designed and built by Krishnappa Reddy. Other Temples are (i) Arena Park Siva *Alayam* (ii) Gledhow Shri Emperumal Temple (iii) New Farm Murugan Temple in Phoenix, (iv) Shree Soobramanier Temple Clariwood, (v) Shri Siva Subramanier, *Alayam*, Port Elizabeth, (vi) Shri Vishnu Temple (vii) Siva *Alayam*, Ryland, Capetown (viii) Sivan *Alayam*, Actonville; (ix) Siva Soobremoniar Temple, Verulam, (x) Sri Vaithianatha Easvarar *Alayam*, Durman, and (xi) Umbilo Esvarar Temple.

From the above list it will be seen that there are more Temples dedicated to Muruga; besides Siva. The absence of Temples dedicated to Vishnu is due to the absence of emigration of sizable Vaishnavities from South India. At the University Durban-West Ville, South Africa in 1987 a Symposium was held on *Kavadi* and worship of Muruga. The papers presented at this symposium has been edited by Thillayvel Naidoo and published. In his preface to this book Thillayvel Naidoo observes; "Reports on the *Thaipoosam* and *Citraparuvam Kavadi* rituals that are held annually indicated that this form of worship continues to attract record number of devotees to Temples throughout South Africa".

Dr. Thillay Naidoo in his paper on "The Temple in the Tamil Community" observes; "The arrival in Natal in November 1860 of the first members of the Indian community marked, I believe, the birth of Hinduism on the Southern tip of Africa. The circumstances under which life had to be conducted by the pioneers has long been discerned as a situation of remarkable tenacity in the face of almost indescribable hardship. Precisely what period of time elapsed before the first ever Hindu Temple was constructed here is difficult to determine but we are aware that at the present time close on one hundred Temples now belong to the Tamil Community in South Africa with nearly six of them having been declared national monuments"

Temple Duties Require Attention

"By far the greatest weakness one discerns in Temple administration throughout South Africa is the lack of expertise arising from a failure to appreciate its basic uses. There is a variety of duties that require attention and these fall basically into two categories: firstly spiritual and second material wants. There is some uncertainty on the role of the sthanigar in Temple administration but evidence would have us believe that he fulfills vary much the role equivalant to that of deacon in some christian Churches paying careful attention to some administrative duties while yet being responsible for ritual acts. There is enough evidence to confirm that Temple administration has always suffered its greatest weakness in that seldom if ever are men of great calibre produced to formulate rules by which to conduct the affairs of the Temple both religious and secular".

He further adds (i) Religious education has been glossed over by secular education, (ii) But the Temple and the State ought to recognise that they are responsible for the conser-

vation of moral and spiritual values: (iii) consider the work of Thirugnanasambandar, Manikavasagar, Arunagirinathar, Nakkirar, Thirumoolar, and Avvaiyar, and categoriese the essential doctrines. (iv) It is the kindred soul idea of Thaimanavar and Vallalar that may well be the basis of approach to the underlying devotional exercise that still characterises religious practice among Tamil people: (v) Total absence of any attempt by any religious authority in South Africa's Tamil community to provide for the ever present valuable need for the priests, who are diminishing and for which sufficient training arrangements should be made. The value of the priest is further extended beyond the confines of worship and teaching to counselling. This is a form of service involving the science of psychotheraphy and the art of helping people in matters of deep personal concern as for example provided by pastoral counselling in many christian communities, (vi) Menace of alchohol, drugs, sexual proximity, family discord, absence of respect for grand parents, increasing demands for freedom by women all require also spiritual guidance. But there is near total absence of effort on the part of our religious institutions to whom matters of this nature should be of primary concern.

Concern for Tamil Traditions

Inspite of such short comings the Tamils in South Africa have concern for their traditions. They have great respect and love for devotional hymns such as *Teevaram*, *Thiruvasagam Thiruppugazhi* and *Thiru Arutpa*. The Natal Vedic Society has compiled some of the important hymns in a handy volume entitled *Sivan Arul Thirattu*. Infact Tamils have special love for Saint Ramalinga (1823-74) and his devotional hymn book *Thiru Arutpa*.

Devotional services in the Temples are held daily, weekly, fortnightly or monthly depending on the enthusiasm of the organising committees. The Tamils of South Africa celebrate *Pongal* (mid-January), *Thaipoosam* (usually occurs in January-February), also known as *Kavadi* festival, *Mahasivaratri* (February-March), Tamil New Year (mid April), *Sri Ram Navami* (March-April) Chitraparuvam (April-May), *Vinayaga Sathurthi* (August-September) *Krishna Janmastami* (August), *Sakthi Puja* (also known as Navaratri ending in Saraswathi Puja celebrated in September October), *Deepavali* (October-November) and *Karthigai Deepam* (November-December). Muruga worship is very popular among the South African Tamils and hence *Thaipoosam* ritual includes the vow to carry *Kavadi* to Muruga Temple. Devotees take vows to carry *Kavadi* sometimes even for three years in succession. Although some reference is sometimes made to an awakened spiritual consciousness, this seldom features in a Kavadi ceremony, where the devotee's primary concern is with the amelioration of suffering.

Many Temples and Cultural Associations publish annually the Tamil almanac sheet (stating the corresponding *Kali era*). The almanac, besides giving the Tamil Calendar months in Tamil as well as in English, contains information on auspicious Sundays for weddings between 10.30 and 11.30 A.M. and between 2.00 and 4.00 P.M. auspicious Saturdays for weddings between 3.15 and 6.00 P.M. eclipses, Tamil festivals, new moon and full moon days, auspicious and inauspicious times (ie. *Raghu kalam, Yama kandam* and *Kuligam Guru Puja* days of Thiru Gnanasampandar, Appar, Sundaramoorthi, Manicka Vasagar and Ramalinga Swamigal, auspicious Govindan *Puja* (on Saturdays), *Puratarthi (Purattasi)* fast days, auspicious days for Nadaraja *Abhishegum, Katri* inauspicious period (during the hot summer month of May),

auspicious day and time for changing of *Thali* cords and auspicious day for fasting in memory of ancestors. These almanacs are printed on cardboards and distributed. These are also published in newspapers.

Marriages

For many decades after the first arrival of Indian immigrants in Natal the prospective bride and bridegroom were not permitted to speak to each other until the day of marriage. Then came a time when the bride and bridegroom-to-be were allowed to see each other at the bride's residence in order to obtain mutual consent.

The situation obtaining in the presents day frees parents from the responsibility of looking for a bride. Young men and women choose their partners in life and the parents co-operate in the wedding arrangements. Initially an astrologer is visited in order to obtain an auspicious date for the wedding. Wedding expenses such as clothes for the bride, jewellery, hire of hall, arrangements for entertainment and the provision of meals for the guests are all brone by the bridegroom or his parents.

Nalangu

About three days before the wedding day a preparatory ceremony called *nalangu* is conducted in the homes of the bride and the bridegroom at about the same time and at their respective homes. An area in the courtyard is chosen and decorated with *Kolam* (geometric designs). The bride and the bridegroom would sit on a low stool. A brass bowl containing coloured water mixed with lime and tumeric powder and some dried chilles would be placed in front of the stool. After anointing, the *alam* ritual would be performed by some

married women by each one picking up the bowl and circl-ing it round bride or bridegroom-to-be. This ritual is called *Alam suthuthal or Kanneru Kazhithal* and is intended to ward of the evil eye. A final ceremony is performed on the wedding day when lhe bride couple are seated together inside the *pandal.*

The main aspects of *Nalangu* are

a. Physical: strengthening and beautifying the young couple.

b. Social: preparing for their future status and relation-ship by advice and suggestive remarks during the anointing.

c. Purificatory: bringing them in contact with ingredi-ents which can never be used during any period of ritual defilement,

Readiness for the Wedding Ceremony

The wedding *pandal* would be attractively decorated with flowers. Inside the *pandal* there would be placed seven hollow ware brass vessels containing water. They represent the Seven sacred rivers of India. A grinding stone placed in the corner symbolises chastity and loyalty. The multi-armed brass stand with numerous oil burning lights stand for the Hindu deitils.

The dressing of the bride's hair is a time-consuming aff-air and a distinguishing featute of the Tamil bride. The entire jewellers fitted on to the bride's plaited hair is called *Jadanagam*. Each part is neatly screwed into the braided bair. The *Rakash*, a disc-like ornament is in the shape of the sun symbolising brilliance. This is followed by another item depicting the crescent moon which is evocative of peace and calm. Then

the comes hydra headed divine cobra, *Anantha* (Lord Vishnu rests on the coiled cobra). At the present day jewellery pieces are hardly used. A substitute made with selected flowers deftly woven into the braid is worn by the bride. The finished product is as exquisite and meaningful as the real thing.

Wedding Ceremony

The actual wedding ceremony is performed by the priest who is usually a non-brahmin, unlike in the case of the Hindus of North Indian origin. After the recital of sacred verses the *thali* is tied round the neck of the bride by the bridegroom. Another name for the *thali* is *mangaliam*. After the the tying of the *mangaliam* a few minor rituals complete the wedding ceremony.

Death Rituals Connected With it

The Tamil-speaking Hindu community in Natal, like their counterparts in South India consider death as an occasion for the pursuance of specific cultural practices. When a person dies the household and the immediate relations become mourners. If the deceased was a married male, the wife becomes the chief mourner.

Death rituals vary with age, sex and marital status, They are more elaborate for adults than for children; for married than unmarried persons; and for married men than married women. Upon the death of a person a holy lamp is placed in the room where the rituals and prayer services would be conducted. The dead body is bathed, perfumed, attired in new clothes and then laid in a coffin. Friends and relatives will now able to pay their last respects.

Upon the death of a husband the widow is subjected to rituals poignantly reminiscent of her marriage ceremony She takes a ritual bath and puts on new clothes. She would then be annointed; flowers are placed on her head and there would be a garland round her neck. She would then have a offer prayers for peace and comfort of the departed soul. As at all funerals there would be much singing of sacred hymns.

At an arranged time the cortege would proceed to the crematorium cemetery. For a period of sixteen days the household would be in mourning. On the sixteenth day a memorial service would be in attendance.

Many present-day bereaved families perform only some of the rites mentioned above (C. Kuppusami:1993:33-35)

Economic Status

Indians originally came to work in the sugar-cane fields of Natal. Today the majority have left the land and only 3.7 percent live in rural areas as successful owners of market gardens and sugar farms. They have become an urban population manufacturing clothing, furniture, steelgoods, jewellery and stationary. Many earn their living as tailors, grocers, fresh produce vendors and chemists.

The 1970 census statistics showed that 35.3 percent of the Indian labour force was engaged in manufacturing, 28.4 in trade and 12.9 in services. The number of business undertakings, in Indian possession has increased from 87 in 1961 to 768 in 1970. The major sphere of Indian investment is in Natal, where the number of Indian owned commercial undertakings is now approching 800, with an employment figure of over 14,000 Indians.

Between 1961 and 1970 the number of Indians employed in Natal increased from 32,000 to 76,000. In a number of professional and technical fields Indians are found in considerable numbers. Financial instiutions such as banks, building societies and insurance companies are training suitable young Indians for advanced positions. The Department of Indian Affairs (now known as Internal Affairs) has been employing as many Indian South Africans as possible. With the exception of five schools in Natal, all Indian schools are run by exclusively Indian staffs. About one quarter of the academic staff of 221 at the University of Durban-Westvilla is Indian. The introduction of local government has given Indians every opportunity to serve their own community as mayors, Town councillors town clerks, treasurers, engineers and municipal officals. Postal services in Indian areas are also being entrusted to Indian personnel. Service in the South African police, Army, Navy and Air Force offers many opportunities for Indians to reach Commissioned ranks.

It is estimated (in 1980) that there were 67.7 percent of Indians in need of housing and their income ranged between 2000 and 6000 per annum. Over 80 percent of the Indians are urban. But in the suburbs Indian poverty predominates; 64 percent of the Community, is estimated to be living below the poverty line and over 28 percent just above it. About six percent live in moderate comfort and just a little over one percent are estimated to be comfortable. But as per December 1984 estimate, it may said, that about 30 percent live in moderate comfort and 10 percent in comfort. Gujaratis that too Muslim Gujaratis, have the highest income, while the Hindi. Tamil, Telugu groups have the lowest incomes.

Tamil Language Education

Pioneering Activities

Father Jean Baptiste, Father Gourlay and Rev Ralph Scott could considered as pioneers of Tamil Education in South Africa in the nineteenth century. The Tamil immigrants of South Africa infact have been striving their best to teach Tamil to the succeeding generations eventhough Tamil language study was not included in the offical curriculam until 1984. Until 1914 Tamil was taught in two private Tamil Schools in Durban. With the founding of the Hindu Tamil Institute in a single storeyed building This may beregarded as "a pioneering effort in the field of Tamil education in Durban."

Rise of new Elite

An awareness among the free Indians and their grown-up children of their aspirations and of the disabilities they were subjected to was emerging slowly. By the year 1905, a new elite was beginning to make its appearance, made up of young Indian Colonials and some free ex-indentured Indians. Among them the Tamils were in the majority. They gave encouragement for English education and actively assisted in the establishment of new schools. In addition every man and woman who had some education in Tamil took it upon himself/herself to pass on the precious gift of language to as many as possible. Make-shift classes of five or six pupils were opened and instruction was given free in the evenings.

Education of the Children of Immigrants in the Estates

Indian workers were very conscious of the value and necessity of education for their children and were keen to

have them educated in English and in the vernacular. In the estates and elsewhere where indentured labour was used there was for a long time no recognised school excepting one or two institutions established by Christian Missions. As long as the Indians stayed on the estates they dared not give expression to a desire for their children's education. The employers were generally averse to any kind of formal education. The first recognised Indian school was opened in 1869 by the Rev Ralph Stott near Durban when the Natal Education Department made a small grant to Mr Stott in order to run it as a day school for the children of plantation workers and an evening school for the older scholars.

Early in 1879 Natal's Superintendent of Education sent out a circular to all the leading planters asking what facilities they would provide in the estates for establishing schools for the children of Indian labourers. Several planters expressed in no uncertain terms that education would only prove hurtful; many were indifferent; only there were prepared to find a rough school and teacher's quarters.

In 1906 a *Natal Education Commission* was appointed to investigate the state of education in the Colony. The Commission was primarily intended for the Whites. However the Report recommended, *inter alia,* that in regard to Indian education owners of estates should be compelled to provide this commodity for the children of indentured employees using teachers of their own nationality.

First Attempt to Promote Tamil Culture

In Durban among the steady arrivals of Tamil-speaking passenger Indians there were some who observed that not nearly enough was being done for the promotion of Tamil education. There were a number of Tamil "passenger" Indi-

ans living in Durban and in close proximity was a large number of Tamil families whose men were employed either by the Railway and the Durban Corporation or by small traders.

The educated newcomers were concerned about the state of Tamil culture. Among these individuals was one, Virudachalam Pillay, a teacher of Tamil in India who had come to Natal to improve his lot and to save money. He felt that the need to help his less fortunate brothers with regard to Tamil language and culture generally was greater than his interest in the small business he had started. He instituted a Tamil class in Durban for children and a *Tamil Agam* (Academy) for promoting culture among the adult members of the community. He opened a printing press in 1914 and began publising a weekly Tamil newspaper. He also printed a number of easy-to-read Tamil books on religion for the benefit of Siva worshippers.

From 1915 onwards there was a growing number of private Tamil schools in several parts of Natal, in the Transvaal and in the Cape. Religious instruction became an essential part of the school curriculum. The community wanted mother tongue instruction especially as a means of gaining religious knowledge.

More English medium school were being opened largely through the efforts of Christian Missions and by Indian cultural bodies created for this pupose. These schools, known as government-aided schools were recognised and subsidised by the Education Department. At many of these schools Tamils was taught in the afternoons by private arrangement.

The Cape Town Agreement

In 1927 the famous *Cape Town Agreement* which has relevance to the Indian people in South Africa, was signed

between the Union Government and Government of India. It ushered in a new era in educational progress for the Indian community. The Union Government agreed in principle *inter alia* that;

> in the provision of education and other facilities the considerable number of Indians who will remain part of the permanent population would not be allowed to lag behind other sections of community.

The Union Government further assured that it would have the position of education among the Indian investigated.

Kailas P. Kichlu, an educationist from India was sent to Natal to enquire into the state of education among the Indians in Natal and to make recommendations. In effect Kichlu recommended, that more schools for Indians be established; more money be spent on their education and that the curriculum should be the same as that for the white schools.

Kichlu on Indian Languages

In 1928 the *South African Indian Congress* submitted a proposal to the government for the inclusion of Indian languages in the curriculum of Indian schools. There was no favourable response to its representations. Kichlu himself was averse to the inclusion of Indian languages in government schools but had no objection to communities having their own private schools and gave the following reasons for his objection.

There are several Indian vernaculars spoken by Indians in this country and if all of them are introduced in one and the same public school, the organisation of the schools

would be impossible. If on the other hand only one vernacular is introduced one of two alternatives will havs to be adopted namely either the admission will have to be confined to children of parents Speaking that particular vernacular or all the children coming to the school will have to read the Indian vernacular taught in the school, irrespective of the fact whether it is their language or not (C. Kuppusami ; 1993 : 4-245)

With the arrival of the Right Hon' ble V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, as the first Agent General for the Government of India in South Africa, the Hindu Tamil Institute enlarged its activities. The single storeyed building was reconstructed into a two storeyed building in 1928. A grant in aid was secured from the Natal Provincial Administration and it became an English School. In order to maintain the primary object of the Hindu Tamil Institute, the Tamil language classes have all along been conducted in the afternoons, after the English School hours. Then the School moved to a three-storeyed building in 1939. It celebrated the Golden Jubilee 1978.

The Natal Tamil Vedic Society distributes freely Tamil Readers, Alphabet Cards, Attendance Registers, Chalk and various other items to the schools not only in Durban city but to those situated in the suburbs. At one time Tamil was being taught after school hours and on weekends in as many as 32 schools whose roll numbered over 1000 Subsequently attendance fell due to shift in population. But the Hindu Tamil Institute still conducts Tamil language classes for children as well as adults on Saturday and Sunday afternoons.

One of the organisers of the Tamil classics claims "A number of sound teaching principles are integrated in the

preparation and presentation of lessons delivered in the adults Saturday class. In the teaching of the language a great deal of stress is placed firstly on pronounciation because to the core Tamil is a phonetically oriented language and secondly on comprehension, which alone justifiably reveals the beauty, deep thoughts and literary expanse which animate Tamil literature. Direct method is employed to enable students to cultivate the habit of thinking in Tamil which is a contributory factor to make the language a second nature to the individual. Grammar is also taught to ensure precision in communication for oral and written media. Poetry and hymns are included so that students would become cognisant of the spiritual and the divine essence which will not fail to stimulate the thinking mind".)

The Group Areas Act and Its Effects

The 1950 Group Areas Act became a law of the land and was placed in the Statute Book in the same year. The object of the law was

> to provide for the establishment of Group Areas for the control of the acquisition of immovable property and occupation of land and premises and for matters incidental thereto.

Areas for different groups were still to be declared by a Board created for the purpose. The suspense thus engendered was devastating to the spirit of the Indian people as there was uncertainty about where they were soon going to move. The Act was amended in 1952 and further amendments followed later to make the law fool-proof. It was ostensibly intended for all races but it affected the Indians most.

Large numbers of Indian families were forced to leave their cherished homes, however modest some of them might

have been. The newly declared areas were new in many respects. The locality was strange and still in the process of development, There was no cultural environment to speak of e.g. there were no Tamil schools, cultural bodies or even a temple and the schools to which the children went were new buildings and the pupils too were new.

As children from more than one linguistic group attended the school and as English was the medium of instruction and conversation among the pupils, the children carried the language home forcing even conservative parents to converse with their children in English.

Some of the existing private Tamil schools continued to conduct classes for the small number of children in attendance until they were evicted. Some state-aided school were originally Tamil schools which were hired by the Natal Education Department for conducting normal schools. But Tamil classes continued to be conducted in the afternoons.

Renewed Representations For Inclusion of Indian Languages

A Statutory body called the *South African Council* was created by the government to serve as a springboard for giving expression to Indian aspirations. In 1977 Indian cultural leaders made representations to this Council to support their request for the inclusion of Indian languages in the primary school *curriculum*. No immediate favourable response was received. (C. Kuppuaswamy 1993;45-46)

Breakthrough: 1984 and After

The acadamic year 1984 is a unique one in the history of education of the Tamils in South Africa, for Tamil and

13. *Kailas PKichlu*: Memorandum on Indian Education in the Transvaal, 1928.

four other Indian languages were officially made part of the School Curriculum. In Durban more than 8000 pupils had responded and joined the language classes, of whom 4300 were studying Tamil, 2707 Hindi, 297 urudu 573 Gujarati and 66 Telugu. However the programme has been affected by shortage of qualified teachers. To begin with syllabusses have been framed to teach Tamil *from standard two to five.*

In 1993 all Indian primary schools under the control of the Department of Education and Culture were allowed to include Indian languages as part of the school curriculum. There were, however, conditions which required that there be sufficient number of pupils in any particular language group and a suitable teacher available. Many Indian primary schools in Natal (later in the Transuaal started Tamil classes in the first year of its introduction, commencing in standard two. The Tamil community were happy to take advantage of the new dispensation.

Some teachers of Tamil in the primary schools were not well enough qualified to teach the language and they needed assistants with regard to methodology. In 1984 the *South African Tamil Federation* initiated a three-day orientation course for Tamil teachers at Chatsworth. Again the Federation organised a similar course in Durban the following year. Both these sessions were enthusiastically received by the teachers. Later refresher courses were organised by the Department of Education and Culture. In 1987 the enrolment of pupils in Tamil classes from standard two to six was 15,800.

As a result of Tamil being taught in Indian schools a large number of private Tamil schools have closed down.

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14. Administration: House of Delegates Report of Director of Education 1988.

Several dance academies have been opened by individuals and cultural bodies for childern and adult groups (C. Kuppusami; 1993 : 46)

Tamil news and Tamil Teaching

Newspapers such as *Tamil News* also make an effort to propagate the learning of Tamil through their columns. Tamil News, an English monthly, devotes one full page in printing Tamil lessons along with pictures to attract the young and the old alike. The lessons include Tamil alphabets, simple vocabulary and nursery rhymes (both in Tamil and Roman scripts. In publishing the lessons, the *Tamil News* has outlin ed the objectives in the following words: "*A Time to Learn Tamil (SIL)* is a beginning for us to learn our beautiful language called Tamil. It is a beginning not only for our very young, our teenager, but also for the adults and parents to learn their *Mother Tongue*. We will attempt to cater for those that are Tamil yet totally foreign to the language. Your co-operation as an adult and parent in making this attempt will depend on how much you comprehend and digest. It is imperative that your child or children study this section which will not only educate them but will provide lot of fun and enjoyment".

The Tamil News, in a note to children emphasised the importance of learning correct pronounciation from their learing parents. To stimulate participation, it announced giv- ing prizes to the value of R 10 to the first correct entry received by post in answering the questions printed in the newspaper for this purpose,

The *Tamil News* publishes in each issue biographies of ancient as well as modern Tamil poets and scholars. Extr- acts from books published in Tamilnadu such a *Makers of*

Modern Tamil by T.S. Raghavan (Madras, Kazhagam, 1965) are also printed, since such books may not be available for all to read and benefit. Devotional songs of the *Teevaram* trio and Manicavasagar's *Tiruvasakam* are also published in Tamil and in Roman letters with their meanings in Tamil and in English. Quotations from the works of scholars like Maraimalai Adigal are also published in *Tamil News*. Picture stories of Tamil scholars such as Subramania Bharati are also published in the last page for easy reading and understanding.

Tamil Newes June 1983 contains anecdotes on Poetess Avvaiyar and an article on the *Kural* of Tiruvalluvar. August 1983 issue contains articles on poet Subramania Bharati, Father Thaninayagam and on the *Kural*. Feburary 1983 issue contains extracts from *Tiruvasakam* in Tamil along with meaning in English. June 1983 issue contains Thlru Gnanasambandars's *Teevaram* hymns. August 1983 issue carries Sundarar's *Teevaram's* hymns.

Tamil Syllabus

Republic of South Africa, Department of Internal Affairs, Division of Indian Education had published its syllabus for Tamil for standards 2,3,4. and 5 which would be implemented for standard 2 in 1984 for standard 3 in 1985, for standard 4 in 1986 and for standard 5 in 1987. The course was designed on the assumption that the language would be taught for the first time in standard 2.

The following were the general aims: "At the end of standard 5 the pupils should be able to (1.1) read with fluency and understand passages of simple prose, simper verse and simple songs; (1-2) understand simple talks on subjects with

in their range of experience (1-3) use the language correctly in speech and writing; (1-4) and appreciate various aspects of Tamil culture through their grasp of the language and their readings in Tamil literature and history".

The following were the contents of the syllabus: "In each standard the syllabus is designed to cater for the following: (2-1) *oral* (a) conversation, (b) reading and (c) literature: (2-2) *written* (a) The script and general writing (b) language structure and grammar (c) and translation".

Relating to Testing and Assessment, it is stated, that "in order to assess the progress and proficiency of the pupils and to do the necessary remedial work there should be a programme of oral and written testing through out the year. At this level equal value should be given to oral and written work. Oral testing should be done by continuous assessment throughout the year of the pupil's ability to read simple texts, to articulate simple sentences and to converse simply. Written tests should be given at regular intervals on vocabulary simple sentence construction, spelling and comprehension".

The following were the Text books recommended:

1. *Standard* 2; (a) ***Tamil Primer*** Std. I. by Patchirajan. Mahatma Gandhi Institute, Mauritius (This is for teacher)

   (b) ***For Pupils Tamil Arichuvadi***, Muthu Fine Arts Publications, Sivakasi.

2. *Standard* 3: Suggested reader
   For Pupils Tamil Book 1 Tamiz Naatup padaNool Madras.

3. *Standard* 4: Suggested reader
   Tamil Book 2 Tamiz Naatup padaNool, Madras

4. *Standard* 5: Suggested reader
   Tamil Book 3, Tamiz Naatup Pada Nool, Madras.

Suggested Reference Materials

1. *Nursery Rhymes* by Natal Tamil Vedic Society
2. *Easy way to Tamil* by Natal Vedic Society
3. *Sivan Arul Thirattu* by Natal Tamil Vedic Society
4. *Adippadai Ilakkanam*
5. Cassettes on Nursery Rhymes and songs of the saints available from Natal Tamil Vedic Society.

Organisations Associated With Tamil Language Promo tion

Prof. Surendra Bhana of the University of Durban, Westville in 1987 observes: "In the Tamil language lies their great heritage. How well has the facility in the language been maintained? I suspect that Tamil has suffered from the kind of fate suffered by the other Indian languages in South Africa. Since it is not a language of formal instruction, the community can only maintain it through private efforts (This observation is made inspite of Tamil was made officially part of School curriculum in 1984). I see tremendous effort in this respect. *The Natal Tamil Vedic Society*, founded in 1951, combined the efforts of two earlies bodies namely *Young Men's Vedic Society* (f 1905) At least two other organisations involved in the promotion of the Tamil language and culture are over 50 years old, the Clairwood Tamil institute (f 1928) and the Merebank Tamil School Society (f 1936). They are perpetuating an old Tamil tradition of maintaining *patasalas*, a tradition first established in 1899 in South Africa when Sathia Gnam Sangam was established in Durban".

M.R. Moodley, Chairman of Merebank Tamil School Society, wrote to us in December 1988 statings that "The Merebank Tamil School Society is an Education Institution established in the year 1936 to promote and propagate Tamil language and the rich cultural heritage in this part of the globe. Owing to the financial restraints, the Society was unable to go far enough to fulfill its objectives. In the last decade the Society was successful in generating the much needed funds to carry out its programme. To get the Society's programme off the ground it has embarked on the scholarship exercise. As first step the Society has decided to sponsor five students on an intensive study of Tamil as language and temple culture-Music, singing, speech and Drama as optional subjects (Theory and Practial). After four years of intensive study on their return to South Africa, the students will be posted to different suburbs where they shall impart the knowledge and at the same time earn their livelihood. It is believed that this is the first attempt by a single institution to venture on such an ambitious exercise. Having given a brief outline of the scholarship programme, any suggestion by the Tamil University to assist the fulfilment of this mammoth undertaking will be most welcome". As a result since January 1990 five South African students are studying in Tamil University. This is a four year course on Tamil culture and Tamil language organised by the Department of Tamil studies in Foreign Countries, Tamil University, Thanjavur.

Mass Communication

Associations; There are a few Tamil Associations in South Africa. The most famous is the Natal Tamil Vedic Society. This Society was started more than 70 years ago. Inspite of South Africa being a multiracial society, the Natal Tamil Vedic Society has been in the forefront in the continuation

and propagation of Tamil culture. In the field of fine arts its contribution has been immense especially since the Eisteddfod movement commenced in 1963.

In 1963 the Natal Tamil Vedic Society in deciding to commomorate its 50 years of existence and service among the Tamil people gave serious thought to the idea of launching the Eisteddfod Movement among the Tamils of Natal Province. The late P.R. Pather, the then President of the Society a much respected leader of Indians of South Africa. took the initiative in launching this annual cultural event. He also foresaw that the Eisteddfod will remain a permanent part of the society's future activities.

The first Tamil Eisteddfod was launched at the Durban city Hall in August 1963. The first year brought in about 700 entries for the Dance, Drama, Music and Elocution sections. Infact, as claimed in one of the souvenir brochures, "annual Eisteddfodau mirror the enthusiasm. devotion and ecstasy of the Tamil community which endeavours in all earnestness to revitalise a people possessing a magnificent cultural heritage".

The other organisations are (1) *Arutpa Kazhagam* of South Africa; (2) *Arutpa Mathar Kazhagam*, Bayview (3) Benoni Tamil School Board; (4) Clare Estate Mathar Sungam; (5) Dravida Society of South Africa; (6) East London Tamil school Board; (7) Hindu Maha Sabha; (8) Isipingo Beach *Arutpa Kazhagam*; (9) Isipingo Hills Arutpa Kazhagam (10) Lenasia Tamil Federation; (11) Merebank Tamil School Society; (12) Northdale Siva Gana Sabha; (13) Om Shanti Cultural Centre (14) Pretoria Tamil League (15) Ramalinga Adygal Mathar Group; (16) Saiva Sithantha Sangam; (17) Saiva Vashipat Kazhagam; (18) Samarasa Kazhagam; (19)

Sathic Sanmarka Sangam (20) Shall cross Tamil Society; (21) Shri Sithevingayaga Sivasaathana Thava Saiva Sangam; (22) Siva Ganana Sabay of South Africa; (23) Siva Gnana Sangam. North dale, Pietermaritizdurg, (24) Sivakalay Prayer Group Chatsworth; (25) Siva Mananam, (26) South African Hindu Dharma Sabha (27 South African Tamil Federation; (28) Stanger Sentamil Institute, (29) The Natal Tamil Vedic Society Trust Thirukootam; (30) Thirukural Society (31) Thiru Murugan Prayer Group of Croftdene (32) Transvaal Tamil Federation, (33) Wyebank Tamil Association.

Siva Subramanya Guru Swamigal established in 1910 Saiva Siddhantha Sangam. It has 100 branches in Durban today. This *Sangam* is managing several Temples. It celebrates, Marriages *Karthigai, Deepavali, Gurupuja Pongal* and *Pusam.*

South African Tamil Federation was founded by the Tamils. It tries to federate with it all Tamil Associations of South Africa.

Tamil Cinema

Tamil cinema is another important link among the Tamil living abroad. Magazine, such as *Tamil News* carry photographs of scenes from recently realeased films in Tamilnadu. Interviews with actors and directors are also published in detail besides reviews of recent releases. Eventhough India is not having diplomatic relations with S outh Africa, still most of the latest Tamil Films released in Tamil nadu are made available on video tapes via Singapore. For example an advertisement reads: "For the latest and best in Hindi and Tamil Films B.P. Video, Licensed to hire, 149, Beetle Stone Road, Malabar, Port Elizabeth, choice of 250 films plus 10 new titles arriving every month". It is said that Tamils film song are also popular here in South Africa, particularly among the youth.

Tamil Magazines:

Formely came out Tamil magazines such as *Vivekabanu*, *Sentamil Selvan*, *Manavarulagam* and *Indian oli*. Today we get *Tamil News*, which is published in English. As meantioned and quarted already it carries every month the one page Tamil lessons. It published old and new news about the Tamils. It published Tamil religious literature like *Teevaram*.

Today according to the D.K. Journal *Vidutalai* (15.01.88) (1) 18,00. Tamil girls and boys are learning Tamil language (2) N.C. Nayudu has published a Tamil Dictionary, which would benefit primary school students (3) younger generation Tamils of South Africa enact traditional Tamil dramas; (4) and *Teevaram*, *Tiruvacakam* recorded in Tamil nadu are extensively used in South Africa.

It should be stated that the Tamils have become South Africanised. Mostly they speak only English at home. Still they try to maintain their Tamilnes in the cultural and religious sphere. They are trying their level best to keep alive Tamil language and tradition and are making efforts to revive their contacts with Tamilnadu. They need guidance and help support and inspiration from the Tamil of Tamilnadu to keep alive their interest in Tamil culture and Tamil language.

C. Kuppusami (1993:190-191) describes the position of spoken language among the Tamils as follows:

a) Those who are educated in Tamil and are able to speak the language fluently.

b) Those who are not educated in Tamil but are able to speak the language fluently and are intensely religious endeavouring to learn devotional songs through

transliteration from Tamil to English.

c) Those who are not educated in Tamil, but love the Tamil culture and have made a study of it through the medium of English.

d) Those who could recognise spoken Tamil and understand it in simple conversational form, but regret not having had the opportunity of learning the language.

e) Those who are apathetic toward Tamil language and Tamil culture and therefore cannot be placed in any of the first four categories.

It is not possible to state what percentage of the Tamil-speaking population falls into each category but one is in a position to say that language, the gateway to culture, needs attention.

Conclusion:

The Republic of South Africa with its heterogeneous population is a multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-cultural state: blacks speaking a number of ethnic languages, whites comprising in the main English and Afrikans speakers, coloureds who speak afrikaans or English or both and five linguistic section of Indians who could also speak English. The Indian community have been conforming to western way of life but have so far remained a distinctly identifiable section of the South African population.

Apartheid has crumbled. Schools and universities have opened their doors, hither to wholly or partly closed to Blacks. to all races. The Group Areas Act, the population Registration

Act and other pieces of Legislation adversely affecting the Black Communities have been expunged from the Statute Book. The non-whites-the blacks the coloured and the Asians who could not walk on the pavements of the white areas are now sitting in hotels and restaurants meant exclusively for the whites and are being served by white waiters. Today you can see a white chauffeur driving a car carrying black passengers. Blacks and Asians walk in the shopping areas till recently reserved exclusively for the whites. Thus South Africa has become a non-racial multi party democracy with a justiciable Bill of Rights and a legal system guaranteeing equality of before law.

Unlike the people of Indian Origin in East Africa who complained of neglect by the Indian Government, those in South Africa bear no grudge. They understand that India had joined them in a common struggle against apartheid and the economic and political sanction applied by India were justified. Despite being uprooted and resettled the community is prosperous. It has established Schools, Colleges, Universities, Hospitals, Community Centres, Places of Worship and entertainment. It consists now mostly in professions, doctors, teachers and lawyers. With the lifting in 1991 of the Group Housing Act of 1948, one of the main pillars of apartheid, the Indians, who number about a million (2.7 percent of the total population) are now buying back their and others property in the white areas to widen their contacts. The community having participated actively in the struggle against apartheid is mostly attached to the ANC (African National Congress) in addition to its membership of the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress, the successors of the banned Indian National Congress. However since the National Party has opened its doors to all South Africans some Indians joined it. Their relations with other parties

such as Inkatha are not bad, but party politics in a multi party democracy could freeze relationships.

The Indian particularly the younger generation is confident that it will survive the transition and the change. Of-course there are those who are fearful of change and the uncertainty it will again bring to them second time in their lives. The Indians admire Mr. Mandela and the ANC and because of a long common struggle is not isolated but very much in the main stream of national life The change over is as much their victory as that of any other race in South Africa. Still since roughly one million Indians live in Natal they cannot wholly ignore Natal's realities. Their dilemma will not be easily resolved unless Buthelezi comes to a settlement with the ANC. If Natal and Kwazulu are merged together in a new province and Buthelezi obtains a major role in it and is content with that role, that might give some stability to South Africa and security to its Indians.

Thus different races are coming in close contact with one another and working together and all this would be expected to change life style of every South African citizen. Inspite of the acculturation that is taking place, important features of ethnic cultures would continue to be promoted

The Interim Law Commissions Report published in November 1991, contains a full text of the proposed entrenched bill of rights to protect *interalia* the right to mother tongue instruction. While it declared in favour of language as well as religious and cultural rights, it was not in favour of compulsory mother tongue instruction. The Tamil Community should see to it that the University of Durban-Westville which has a Tamil Department, assume more effective leadership for promoting Tamil language and culture than it does at present.

The Indian people want to further improve their standard of living by seeking for their children, a means of acquiring special skilis inorder to be engaged in a profitable employment or in a personal undertaking. And learning Engish and Afrikaans in preference to Tamil enables a youth to enter a wide range of professions e.g. law, medicine and accountancy. They prefer English to Tamil because of their desire to adopt a western way of life, especially because the environment is western oriented. And since inter-marriages between different linguistic groups are increasing, English is preferred as a spoken language. Further, eventhough since 1983 Indian languages have been introduced in the primary school curriculum on a permissive basis, still they are not examination subjects and the time allocated for teaching is insufficient. In addition a majority of the pupils do not speak it in their homes. Further the Indians question the relevance of the pursuit of certain features in their culture to their lives, for example the value significance of some ceremonial rites and rituals. In response to this, endeavours are being made to modify and simplify religious practice by teaching and practising the basic tenets of religion and the importance of some religious observance. Thus the growth of Tamil language and culture depends on this continually changing environmental factors, which at present encourage more the decline of Tamil language than the luxuriant growth of the same.

America: Ancient Days

Asian Ancestroy

Asian migrants had gone to the American Continent from the Western side across the Bering sea, as well as across the Pacific. The great development of the ancient American or Asiomerican culture took place, in the South of the United States, in Mexico, in Central America and in Peru. Among the enthusiasts of the Asian origins of Asiomericans prevail divergent views. The famous and talented explorer and scientist Baron von Humboldt, while visiting Mexico, found similarities between Asian and Mexican astrology. He declared 'if languages supply but feeble evidence of ancient communication between the two worlds, their communication is fully proved by the consomgonies, the monuments, the heiroglyphical characters and the institutions of the people of America and Asia". Arnold and Frost even traced the chronological passage of Buddhism from India to Central America and the reasons of its migration. As Buddhism had spread all over eastern Asia by the eight century, it has rightly poised, they argued to launch itself further eastwards across the seas. Considering that at this time Buddhism was in an extremely flourishing state in China, Japan and Southeast Asia and was backed actively by powerful Asian Kingdoms, such as those of Srivijaya and of the Khmers, it would not appear surprising that some Buddhist monks had voyaged across the Pacific".

The Asian ancestry of Asiomerican is generally acknowledged but it is not certain from where, when an how the first man came to America. It is likely that man first came to America from Asia towards the end of the last glacial

period; probably between 20,000 and 10,000 years ago across the Bering straits. He may have gone by sea or more likely the corssed on ice. Embassdor Miles poin dexter in *Hindu America* concludes that "America in race and culture was but an extension of Asia and it is said that in pre-glacial times it was geographically so. Columbus was not mistaken when he called the people of the New world "Indian" They were of that and kindred mixed races, and an unbroken line of blood and culture bound together the two shores of the Pacific ocean".

Indian Origin: Tamils Diffusion

Of these Asian parallels with America, many are of Indian origin. As direct migration from India has not been suggested it is claimed that diffusion of Indian ideas and cultural traits took place through the media of China and especially of Southeast Asia. Robert Heine Geldern and Gordon F. Ekholm, favour Indian and Southeast Asian cultural influences on ancient America through human migrations across the Pacific.

Violet-le Duc in 1875 pointed out the influence of Indian art motifs on the 12th century French Romanesque Churches, also noted striking resemblances between ancient Mexican structures and those of South India Scholars were also greatly impressed by the similarity between the Hindu Trinity-Brahma-Vishnu Siva- and the Mexican Trinity Ho-Huiziopo-chtli-Tlaloc-as well as the likeness between Indian temples and American pyramids.

Elephant Sculpture Tamil Impact Surmise

One of the most interesting facts that go to prove the Indian origin of these ancient South Americans is the

appearance of the elephant in Mayan sculptures, for the elephant was otherwise unknown to America. Mr. Poindexter says. "Among the ruins of the prehistoric Mayan city of Copan in Honduras on a large monolith in one of the long abandoned courtyards appear carved in high relief two elephant head with typical trappings of Indian elephants. Characteristic Hindu or Cambodian mahouts wearing typical Hindu of Indochinese turbans are mounted upon them". Elephant is native to Tamilnadu. For example in ancient Tamil literature *Purananuru* we find references about elephants in more than 66 places. Likewise we find references about elephants in *Kuruntoggai* in more than 25 places. In fact elephant was a prominent religious symbol in India which had been carried out to other countries and was associated with complex beliefs. It is not the African elephant, but the profile of an Indian elephant its tusk and lower lip, the form of its ear, as well as it turbaned rider with his *ankusha* which is found in Meso American models. Both Maya and Indian representation of elephants have similar religious significance.

Makara Motif: Tamil Link

Another interesting feature suggestive common origin is the occurance of the "*Makara*" motif notably in Mayan art. This composite "wonder beast" assumes manifold forms in graphic art. It is one of the most frequent decorative forms sculptured in Mediaeval Hindu Temples. It was represented as a dragon, an elephant fish, and a crocodile snake. The forms even include one with the head of an elephant.

Mexican Xiuhcoatl, the so called fire serpent found at Palengue is compared to India. Java, Bali, Sumatra makara motif. a serpent head with upturned snout and with a human

face in its mouth. Mexican Xiuhcoatle's and Aztec rebtile's fish like bodies, elephant like trunks and forms of the teeth resemble the makara, the mythical sea monster of Hindu Buddhist art. In Indian art and in that of the Maya, Variants with paws occur, which resemble a crocodile rather than a fish and in both regions a human figure often emerges from the mouth of the monster. Lindsay considers the *makara* motif to be of South Indian origin, Prof. Daivanayagam of Tamil University, Thanjavur says that we see the origin of *Makara* motif in Tamilnadu during the Pallava period and for example we can see this motif in Kanchi Temples of the Pallavas. The Makara is often depicted on the architraves of early *toranas* on throne backs, as a head dress ornaments as ear rings etc and also a gargoyle carrying away offering in water from a lingam The *makara* and *kirtimukha* forms appear on the majority of French and Spanish Churches built in the 12th century. (Margare. 1986, 173,-174). This *makara* motif seems to have been incorporated in to the Chinese dragon concept. Islamic motifs, such as the old Tamilsman gate at Baghdad, have also preserved variation of the *Kirtimukha.* This motif was probably taken to England by the Plantagenets from France and motif known as the 'Green man' which appears on the Romanesque Churches of some 23 English Countries is thus ullimately of Indian origin.

Kirtimukha: Tamil Culture Percolates

Kirtimukha is a magical device in the form of a demon-mask placed above the doorway of Saiva Temples of to guard the threshold. It is also depicted above the aureole (*Prabhamandala)* at the back of the images of Saiva deities. Its terrifying aspect drives away the impious, but assures the devotees of Siva's protective powers, The 'demon mask' in

Indian Temples is represented by *makara*-head called a *kirti-mukha* (glory head) or by a *Simhamukha* (lion's head). The *Kiritimukha* probably had on original connexion with the makara, but became connected with its after the Gupta period (Margaret, 1986, 146). According to Prof. Daivanayagam of Tamil University the special feature of Mamallapuram of the Pallavas (for example *Pulikugai* is *Kirtimukha* motif.

The Nagini: Tamil Influence

The Mayan goddess IX Tub Tun, who form its mouth turns out precious stones possesses attributed of an Indian nagini of *Kubera*, the god of treasure and his animal attribute, the snake slaying mongoose. There are references in the *Brihat Samhita* (XLV, 14, XLVII 25, 31, 62 to the drawing and worshipping of figures of *nagas* Pearls were believed to be in the bodies (heads) of snakes belonging to be in the family of Taksaka and Vasuki and to possess the power to cause rain (LXXX. 25-6)[2]. To the Indians serpents are said to be guardians of the mineral wealth of the earth. The Shrines of Snakes are to be found in many parts of India, particularly in the South and in Bengal and Assam. In South India many houses have their own shrine which is often a grove reserved for snakes consisting of trees, festooned with creepers, situated in a corner of the garden. In Tamilnadu we find evidence residence relating to *Naga* worship in *Sangam* literature e.g. *Silappathikaram* and *Manimekalai*. We find even place names like Naga Nadu, Naga Tivu, Urahapuram, Pampuram, Nagur, Nagappattinam, Nangur etc we find also in Tamilnadus *Naga Kal* (stones) under Neem trees *Arasa Maram*. We also find Tamils worship of *Nagakanni* (*Nagini*) usually 7 or 5 numbere to get successful materialisation of marriage, prayer, preganancy by taking auspicious vows (Prof. Daivanayagam, Tamil Univer-

sity). Serpent festivals are held at Various times of the year according to local customs one of the most popular being the *naga pacami,* held on the fifth day of the first half of the lunar month *Sravana.* The serpent cult also penetrated Buddhism. Jainsim. Vaisnavism etc. In Indian art cobra has always been a dominant motif Mackenzie and some other scholars are of the definite opinion that the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians were familiar with Indian mythology relating to Naga and cite in support close parralles in detail.

The Lotus: Tamil Touch

The lotus motif interspersed with seated human figures, which as a symbolic meaning in Hindu-Buddhist mythologies, and as such is an integral part of early Amaravati is found at Chicenitza in Mexico as a border in the reliefs of the lower room of the Temple of tigers. The lotus plant in Indian art as reproduced on architraves and in border designs shows not only the flowers and leaves but also the root like stalk, which in the real plant grows horizontally under water or deeply buried in the mud. While the flowers and leaves generally closeley resemble their natural forms rhizome is represented by a decorative undulating creeper. It is this which occurs in America at chichen Itza. If these two representations are not connected in some way, it must be an extraordinary coincidence that in India as well as in ancient America the generally invisible rhizome should have been not only made the basic element of a whole motif but also stylized in a similar unrealistic menner as an undalating creeper. According to Prof A. Daivanayagam of Tamil University lotus motif in Tamilnadu has been originated by the Jains and implemented later by the Cholas.

Hindu Gods in America

Chamanlal in India-Cradle of Cultures says that there is harldy a Hindu God who was not known to the ancient in-

habitants of South America. Trilokinath, the Hindu ruler of the Three Worlds was known to the Mexicans by the same name, until the Spanish conquerors mistakenly changed the name into Tloque Nahuaque. Trilokinath was acknowledged by the Mexicans as the Supreme God and Creator. (Triloknath is also a Bodhisattva God)

In a Temple in Guatemala is a statue of an incarnation of Vishnu as *Kurma*, the tortoise. The sculpture is richly detailed and strongly suggests that it might have been wrought by Hindu hands. *Markandeya Purana* identified the tortoise with Narayana in whom every thing is established. The tortoise placed in the base of the altar represents the sources of all things. The figure of a tortoise is often in the central place of the Temple. At Copan we find no fewer than three images of Hanuman, the monkey faced and celebrated in the Indian Ramayana epic. In Southern India, Hanuman's image often forms the part of bells or lamps. In one Temple a sacred tank is dedicated to him where sacrifices are performed by those wishing to have a son.

The biggest Temple in Mexico housed an image of Siva and museums throughout South American countries have several figures of Siva and Ganesa, his elephant headed son. We have already in earlier Chapters discussed the hypothesis that Siva and Ganesa are Dravidian deities.

Surya, the Hindu Sun God was the supreme deity of the South and Central American people and his image is frequently found on monuments particularly in Bolivia and Peru. For example, an idol from the north coast of Peru represents the sun god seated upon a turtle and a serpent. It reminds one of the myth of the *Satapatha Brahmana* where the primeval tortoise Adi Kurma is referred to as the source and support of all things and the current puranic conception of

the earth being supported by the serpent Ananta who in turn is supported by the turtle or tortoise. In the Palenque Temple of the sun in Mexico, *Surya* occupies the place of honour. Both the Tamils and the Mexicans had beliefs in Polythesistic gods.

Even *Yama*, the God of death of Hindu mythology has found his way to Mexico and Peru, while typically Hindu lotus and chakra motifs adorn the Temples. Hindus call *yama* "the Restrainer" Cessation 'end' Yama's mount (*Vahana*- is a black buffalo, a form which he himself sometimes assumes. His weapons are the mace *gada* representing punishment and the noose (*pasa*) with which he seizes his victims. He is the ruler of *Yamaloka* "the realm of death". In Tamil nadu Yaman is referred to by several poets of the Sangam age. As many as twenty two of them speak of Yaman in the poems of the *Purananuru* anthology alone. (Pillay, 1975, 49o).

Worship of Shivalinga in North America

Hewitt (Rulling Races of Prehistoric Times) comments that though totemism gave birth to isolated tribes with shifting alliances it never produced a national religion common to a permanent tribal confederacy. This was introduced by the fire worshippers and rain worshippers, the first of these national creators tracing the descent of the confederated totemistic clans to the fire-stone, producing the heat necessary to sustain life, and the second to the motherbird of the northern agricultural races, who brought the spring rains which melted the snows of winter. That these two national parents gods are worshipped by all the North American Indians is proved by the eleborate reports published by the Bureau of Ethnology of the Government of United States. These prove that the chief gods of all the North

American Indian tribes are Tunkan (Ingan Lingam in India), the stone god to whom daily prayers are said and wakinyan, the thunder-bird, the god of war to whom national sacrifices are offered. The stone god was originally the fire-making flint, which in the Gond Song of Lingal made fire for the Gond immigrants into Central India from the northereastern Himalays, before they learned to make fire by the fire-drill from the forest agriculture, tribes, they found settled in the country. This god, who with the mother bird, united the totemistic hunters and the agriculturists of the north into the consolidated nucleus of a nation. Is the god called by the Akkadians, Zends, and Hindus, the Shiva stone, or the Salagrama, the begetter of life, found by the fire God Adar in the mother mountain. It is worshipped as the black stone of the Kaaba at Mecca and is the origin of the stone gods of Arabia and of all the semitic races. Thethunder bird shows, in its Indian name Wakinyar that the cult was imported into America after the age which called the mother-bird the frost (Shya bird), the Shyene of the *Rig Veda*, and the Saena of the *Zendavesta*, for it means the bird whieh brings to earth the *warkha* or the mysterious germ of life.

Ancient Civilization of Mexico : Other Beliefs and Tamil Parallels

Memories of Thaipoosam:

While studying the ancient civilization of Mexico we notice that long and severe religious fasts were customary at special seasons, and drawing blood from the arms, legs and body by thrusting in also thorns and passing sharp sticks through the tongue was an habitual act of devotion. During the festival of Camaxtli priests used to fast severely and after that stone knives were prepared with which a hole was

cut through the tongue of each, and number of sticks passed through. This racalls popular Tamil rellgious behaviour especially during *Thaipusam*, throughout the world, where they live in sizable numbers, when they carry Kavadis and indulge in self-mortification by driving sharp skewers through their tongues, cheeks and bodies. This form of devotion is usually undertaken only after careful spiritual preparation involving much prayer and fasting.

Walking over red hot charcoal or white hot stones, in honour of goddess Draupati is an ancient South Indian cusetom to which refereaces are found in pre-Saka literature- From India the rite seems to have travelled all over the world wherever Indian races on religious ideas have permeated. In China and Japan, in Mexico and the Pacifi island. (particularly society islands Tonga and Hawaii) the ceremony had been in practice for many centuries. (A. Kalyanaraman Aryatarangini).

Marriage Similarities

In ancient Mexico marriages depend much. as they do still in the East and in Tamilnadu, on comparison of the horoscopes of the pair to ascertain if their birth signs were compatible. Old women, as in Tamilnadu, were employed as go betweens and the marriage ceremony was conducted by a priest who after moral exhortations united the young couble by tying their garments together in knot (a custom followed in Central America too and which we follow even today in Tamilnadu). after which they walked seven times round the fire 'again a custom we follow even today in Tamil nadu. (Likewies it is customary for the host to accompany the parting guest upto a distance of seven steps from his house (*Purananuuru-padai* 166'. casting incense into its. In *Kalittogai*, a later work of the Sangam Age there is a refe-

rence to the bride and bridegroom circumambulating the sacrificial fire (69:4-5) In *Silappadikaram* too it is stated that in a marriage married couple circumambulate the sacred fire (1: 52-3) In ancient Mexico after the performance of the marriage ceremony the (couple pair entered together on a four days fast and penance before marriage was completed. Prof K.K. Pillay says (1975,367-68) that in ancient Tamilnadu "while the earliest account of marriage furnished by the *Agananurru* states that the nuptials were held on the night of the wedding day itself, later a period of continence for four days after the marriage was made obligatory. The reference to this occurs for the first time in Naachchinarkkinyar's commentary on Sutra 146 of Tolkappiyar's. According to Maya exogamous law a man will not take a wife of his own family name (Source Mexico: Encyclopaedia, 1911,333-36).

Humboldt discusses the Mexican doctrine of four ages of the world belonging to water, earth, air and fire and ending respectively by deluge, earthquake, tempest and conflagration. The resemblance of this to some version of the Hindu doctrine of four ages or *yuga* is hardly to be accounted for except on the hypotheis that the Mexican theology contains ideas learnt from Asiatics. Among Asiatic points of resemblance to which attention has since been called is the Mexican belief in the nine stages of heaven and hell but which corresponds to the idea of successive heavens and hells among brahmans and Buddhists. (Ibid, 330)

Kingship Parallel Practices

In ancient Mexico in the Zaotec disltict the wiyatao or high priest of Zopaa was a divine ruler before whom all prostrated them selves with faces to the ground, he was even too sacred to allow his foot to touch the earth and was only seen carried in a litter. (Ibid. 332) Parimelazhagar and Thiruvalluvar in

Tirukkural 368) call the King as God. especially because the King protects the world. Tamilians believed that King is the foremost person in the world and King is the life of this world Purananooru 186 Mosikeeranar). The King thus held the first rank in the society. In *Nalayira Divya Prabandam* Nammalvar says that seeing King is equal to seeing Tirumal (Vishnu *Tiruvaz Mozhi* 4-4-8) one of the most famous gods of Tamilnadu. Even today Tamils prostrate themselves with faces on the ground to gods in the temples and houses and to all elders.

In Mexico in older times the dead king was buried on a throne with his property and dead attendants round him. But after cremation came in a mourning procession of servants and chiefs carrying the body to be burnt by the demon dressed priests, after which the crowd of wives and slaves were exhorted to serve their lord faithfully in the next world, were sacrificed and their bodies burnt. Common people would not thus be provided with a ghostly retinue, but their simpler funeral ceremonies were as far as they went similar to those of monarch (Encylopadia, 1911,335). In Tamilnadu we had a select band of armed warriers who under a solemn vow rush in a body endeavour to cut their way through the guards of the enemy King and lose their lives in the fray. They were known as *Ca-veru.* During the Age of the Sangam and after, *Sati* was fairly common though by no means universal. The heroism and devotion of *Sati* were doubtless applauded by public opinion, but the practice was certainly not encouraged, much less enforced. The perfect wife was held to be one who, at the death of her husband, entered the burning prye with a little concern as if she were entering cool water for a bath (Nilakanta sastri, 1976, 143) In *Purananuru (246)* Boothapandyan's wife Perunkoppendu became *Sati* and just befor entering the bur-

ning pyre said thal diving into burning pyre will be like diving into a water tank filled up with lotus flowers.

Devadasis

Both the Tamils and the American Indians had the system of *Devadasis*. To the Tamils the term *Devadasi* means a handmaid of God dedicated to the service of the Hindu deity, idol, object of worship, temple or other religious institution. As wedded to god they were expected to maintain their fidelity to their divine husband. But what happend in real life was they were allowed to have intercourse with the *acaryas*, *Sthanikas*, *dharmakartas* or other Braamins who visited them. If they gave birth to females they were directed to follow the profession of their mothers and in the case of males they took to the occupation of masters or teachers *(nattuvanars)* of the art. They (males) were honoured as Pillais or *Isaivelalars*. Thus the divine marriage gave licenses to promiscuity or prostitution K. Sadasivam, 1987). Chamanlal says American Indians had the Hindu system of having Devadasis (Maidens of God). He finds some apparent similarities in the method of dedication. Girls of noble families who had completed ten years and the prescribe dtraining had to live as the maids of the Sun god in the Temple of Arukkan in the cayital city of Incas. (Chamanlal 1941, 90, 103) Incidentally the starting of the Empire of the Incas in America in A.D. 1100 coincided with the mergence of Chola imperialsim under Kulotthunga I. On such grounds Manohar traces some kind of Tamil influence perhaps of the Chola period on Red Indians (Manohar, 1976) But Prof. Sadasivam believes that there is no sufficient material to establish this hypothesis. Inspite of this we can surmise that the *Devadasi* system was probably introduced by the Cholas

even in those foregin countries, with whom they came into contact.

Caste System

We find also some kind of caste system in Mexico. As the Spanish conquerors brought few women, there was much mixture of races. Among the pure whites-who were practically of all Spanish extraction-there were two well defined classes, the Gachupines or Chapetones, Spaniards born in Europe said to be so named in allusion to their spurs, from Aztec words meaning "prickers with the foot" and the native born or Creoles, Besides these there were five well defined Castas. Mestizoes (Indian and White) mulattoes (negro and white Zambos (negro and Indian) Native Indians and negroes. But there were about a dozen intermediate "named varietes" of which the Salto-atras (tending away from the white) and tente en laire (tending towards white) may be mentioned and many of the last named eventually passed into the creole class, Sometimes by the decree of a court (Encylopedia, 1911, 337) But this kind of similarity need not tempt us to surmise that the Indians have introduced caste structure in Mexico.

Cultural Relationship : Hypothesis

Hence so many parallels in concepts and in detail, in mythology, in irtual, iconography, architecture. religious beliefs together with the evidence of migration tempt us to surmise Indian, including Tamils, cultural diffusion. We can't dismiss the large number of highly specific correspondences as mere accidental coincidence. The possible hypothesis we can reluctuntly establish is cultural relationship. Infact an Indian anthropologist in 1990 said that the Incas

of Peru originally came from Tanjore in Tamilnadu - (*The Hindu*, August 1,1990) An American Anthropologist Mr. Douglas Wallace of Emory University in Atlanta supports such a conclusion indirectly when he said in 1990 that some ninety five per cent of native Americans including the Mayas and Incas spread throughout, North, Central aad South America are descendants of single small bond of pioneers who came from Asia 15,000 to 30,000 years ago (Ibid).

United States of America

American Missionaries

After the arrival of the Europeans to India probably Modern America's contacts with Tamilnadu also began. But we have positive evidence of the emergence of such contacts through American christian missionaries especially during the British rule in Tamilnadu. Some of these Americans, like other European missionaries, came with missionary zeal to spread christian teachings. For this purpose, mainly some of them, may be a very few, learnt Tamil language also from native Tamil speakers. It appears, because of their missionary zeal they also published one or two journals in Tamil language. They aslo wrote in Engilsh and translated into Tamil Biblical teachings.

The following are the few American Missionaries who learnt Tamil and through American christian missions made contributions to the development of the present day christianity. They are Reve. Webb, Rev. G.T. Washburn, Dr. John Scudder, Rev. H.R. Hoisington, Rev. Levi Spaulding, Rev. Miron Winslow and probably a few more other American missionaries.

Rev. Levi Spaulding (1791-1874)

Spaulding, an American, belonged to the London Mission Society. He is supposed to have written nearls twenty books in Tamil on Christianity. Many tamil lyrick also came from his pen. He translated into Tamil a booy *Motcappirayanam*. In 1842 he published "*Manual Dictionary of the Tamil language*", originally unerdtaken in 1833 by Rev. J. Knight of the American Mission of Jaffna. The first and

second editions of the *"English Tamil Dictionary"* compiled by Knight and Spaulding are quite out of print and are hardly met with these days. In the third edition's preface Spaulding wrote: This edition contains 35,737 English words being an enlargement of 8,984 over the first edition. The third edition was printed in 1886. Tamil synonyms were printed for the first time in both the native and Roman characters. Also a table of Tamil vowels and consonants, (with their Roman equivalents) was added to help correct pronounciation. This is the first attempt to follow a previously compiled good English Dictonary and to give for the entire list of words in it the Tamil equvalents". In 1853 Spaulding translated the *"Pilgrim's Progress"* for the Jaffna society. He also compiled a Dictionary for biblical use.

Rev. Miron Winslow (1789-1864)

Winslow, an American Missionary, lived in Tamilnadu between 1819 and 1833 and again between 1836 and 1864 till his death at Rayapuram., Madras. During his stay in the USA between 1833 and 1836 his missionary addresses created a wide and deep interest in Tamilnadu and other parts of India. He studied Tamil with the aid of native Scholars.

Between 1823 and 1840 he printed many small pamphlets in Tamil. He translated the headings and the chronology of the English version into Tamil with Febricius old Testament (which he corrected and revised) and Rhenius New Testament.

His famous Dictionary was compiled in 1862. His efforts are a landmark in the history of Tamil development. He with gratitude acknowledges the help rendered to him

by Tamil natives and foreigners in compiling the work. We realise that he had the benefit of advice not from one native Scholar but from many and hence many different kinds of notions have been the result This probably has made the Dictionary a unique one. Again Winslow's method was the forerunner of the compilation of the Tamil Lexicon which enlisted the cooperation of many leading learned men.

In the Preface to Winslow's Dictionary says 'It is not that Missionaries should use high words in their conversation or preaching that they ought to know something of the poetic dialect but on the contrary, that they may know how to avoid them and use good words, neither too high nor too low that is too vulgar". He said that the natives fancy could be caught by foreign Missionaries only if they spoke much poetry in whieh native Scholars were adept and only if they often alluded to the sayings of their own wise men. He said that the natives had not lost their grammatical sense and that the natives had limited acquintance with Tamil and hence where unaware of her "richness and power."

Winslow asserts that there is no high or low Tamil except of the poetic and common dialect. Like English he believes there is a simple grammatical Tamil understood by all and that there is no vulgar Tamil. except that there are certain variations from place to place, differences from caste to caste and peculiarities characteristic of trade. This assertion of Winslow is an authentic miorror of the language of his time, which shows that there was no wide gap between the Scholar and the common man.

Winslow's comprehensive Dictionary as the compiler claims is more exhaustive than Dr. Rottler's and includes

several words and phrases invogue in Ceylon. It has also done remarkable job in including astrological, mythological and scientific terms. This mammoth Dictionary as declared in its note at the end of the book had nearly sixty seven thousand words while Dr. Rottler's had only 37,000.

In this Work Winslow gave for the first time the root of the verb as the leading word "This arrangement is the most simple as well as most philosophical". Another feature of this book was that Sanskrit words were distinguished by an 'asterisk' and when necessary referred to Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary. Winslow gives the various meanings for the principal Tamil words.

Winslow's work, perhaps a culmination to all the efforts of foreigners to compile a good Tamil Dictionary. It both qualitatively and quantitatively served the needs of the day. Its popularity was phenomenal. The great demand for Winslow's Dictionary soon exhausted the supply. The American Mission again were not capable of financing the reprint, a compiler was also hard to find. Dr. Pope, however undertook this task, but he died in 1907.

These unilingual and bilingual Dictionaries in Tamil written by foreigners, though expressly meant for Missionary use, have proved themselves to by of much use to all Tamils also.

Rev. H.R. Hoistngton (1801-1858)

Hoisington of the American Mission in Ceylon was born on 23rd August 1801 in the United Sates of America. He graduated in 1828 from Williams College and from the Auburn Theological Seminary in 1831. In 1834 Todd and Hoisington

were deputed to Madura in South India to establish a new mission there.

Hoisington learnt Tamil and became quite proficient in it. He was interested in Saivism and began to study Tamil and analyse it. As result of his efforts, the Tamil work *Kanta Puranam* was prescribed for study in Schools. Since christian Schools also taught, it, Saivites began to object Hoisington, however, was unmindful of these objections. This introduction had its own advantageous results. Hindu students in Christian Institutions had a chance to learn their own religion and christian students could also get acquainted with Saivism Hoisington himself soon became interested in Saivism Thus his work as instructor of Tamil youth, led him to study profoudly Hindu science, metaphysics and theology. A a result of this he eventually translated with notes into English three books of Saiva philosophy in 1854.

Hoisington translated into English a work entitled "*Tattuva Kattalai, Civanana Potam* and *Civappirakacam*" Treatises on Hindu philosophy translated from Tamil with introduction and notes. This work appeared as three articles in the Journal of the American Oriental Society". Volume IV No. 1 to 11. In 1854 these were combined together to from a complete book which was printed by B.L. Hamlen, New Haven, Printer to yale College, 1854

In the introductions to "*Civanana Potam*" he comments that the general plan of such works "embrace the principles of logical and metaphysical reasoning, weaving in many assumed theological and scientific dogmas, yet evincing that the Hindus have some correct apprehension of true sources of ideas, and of the way in which the human mind usually reasons when enlightened".

Translating these Hindu Tamil works into English and accentuating their worth and appeal to a wider circle is a remarkable contribution by Rev. Hoisington. This especially helped a great deal J.M. Nalluswamy Pillai, who later translated *Civananapotam* into English.

H R. Hoisington also wrote "The Oriental Astronomer" It was a Complete system of Hindu astronomy accompanied with a translation and numerous explanatory notes with an appendix. It was printed in Jaffna in 1848.

Other American Missionary Activities

The major role among the American Missionaries was played by the American Madura Mission, This mission started the "The Tamil quarterly" in 1858. Rev. Webb was its editor. Webb wrote *"Christian Lyrics for Pubic and Social* Worship" in which his own lyrics are also included. Rev. G.T. Washburn published the 8th edition of this work. According to Washburn, Webb introduced the songs of Vedanayaga Sastri in this work.

American Missionary activities remained not only in Tamilnadu but spread to Sri Lanka, where also the Tamils lived In Sri Lanka a magazine called *Utay Tarakai* was published in Tamil in 1841. Both Tamil and English language essays were published in this magazine. Seth-Payson and Henry Martin were in charge of Tamil and English sections of the magazine respectively.

Eventhough a few Americans came and lived in Tamil nadu they did not try to propagate specifically other cultural values other than Christian religion. Hence there was peaceful relations between America and Tamilnadu.

Pulavar Raju, Tamil University informs that In the USA in the Thiru Rocrkefeller Art Gallery we see a 68.1 C M Buddha statue standing on a lotus pedestal. In this pedestal we see A.D 1100 palaeography, where mention is made about Rajnedra Perumpalli, Akkasalai Perumpalli. We also notice Sirutavur Nalangunkara Udayar's donation details engraved on this pedestal.

Tamil Migration

We do not have any clear evidenee of the Tamils migration to America during the British colonial period. Among the Asians only the Chinese comparatively in large numbers were settled in some parts of USA, especially in New York. Other Asians also did go to USA, but only in smaller numbers. However, due to immigration restrictions relating to Asians, the number of Asians visiting America began to decrease.

We do not have a clear picture of early Tamil migration to America, especially before India's indepdence May be Tamils went and studied in America And likewise some Tamil Christians might have gone in connection with missionary training activites. We have recent findings indicating such Tamil migrations around the early 19th Century. (*The Hindu*).

Tamils in considerable numbers began to migrate to America only in 1960's. President Johnson of USA introduced with liberal spirit in 1965 a Bill permitting all Asians especially the talented and skilled ones, to migrate and settle in USA and thus realy inaugrated the year of skilled Tamil labour migration along with skilled International migration. The purpose of America, in his view is to build with an open approach an international culture,

since USA itself is a nation of immigrant strangers from all parts of Europe, Africa and Asia.

Johnson and Migration

When the immigration Law of 1965 was introduced US President Johnson observed "......... those wishing to immigrate America shall on the basis of their skills and their close relationship to those already here . .. .. America was built by a nation of strangers. From a hundred different places they have poured forth into an empty land, joining and blending in one mighty and irresistible tide. The land flourished because it was fed from so many sources because it was nourished by so many cultures and traditions and peoples. And from this experience, almost unique in the history of nations, has come America's attitude toward the World. We because of what we are, feel safer stronger in a world as varied as the people who make it up". President Johnson noted the uncommonness of the United States experiment in making one country out of many peoples, an experiment he judged as "almost unique in the history of nations" (Kessner 1981, 3-4).

Hence the experiment with the concept of international culture and oneness of the world was introduced for the first time in USA. especially by President Johnson, who had an openmind, unlike the other Presidents of the early periods. And it is interesting to note that educated Tamils also have begun migrating USA from this period also. As a result of this Tamil elite migration, today we have many Tamil settlements in many parts of America-Consequently in the words of George Washington "The bosom of America is open to receive" paving the way of birth of new meaning of a world nation in which Tamils, with their ancient values and temple culture, art and other Indians with other Indian values are participating with an open mind.

Indian Population: Estimates

According to Regional T. Appleyard, "Under the American Government's former quota system, allocations to Countries of the Indian Subcontinent had been taken. New legislation in the mid 1960's which favoured professional and skilled worker whatever their race had a dramatic impact on intakes from that region as well as on the number of Subcontinental students in the United States deciding not to return home on completing formal education. While census data do not readily allow calculation of ethnic populations (including children born in the United States) Various estimates indicated that numbers from the Subcontinent increased rapidly after the mid 1960's. Appleyard (1984) estimates that there may have been 1,10,000 Indian-born residents in the United States (and a further 68,000 in Canada) in 1974. According to INS 1981, in 1960 there were 24,956 Asians which increased to 1,89,293 in 1979. According to United States Bureau of the census 1981 Table 3, in 1980 there were 35,00,636 Asian Pacific islanders in USA. Of these in the Northeast there were 5,59,759 (in Middle Atlantic) in North Central 3,89,747 (majority in South East North Central) in South 69, 762 (majority in South Atlantic) and in the West 20,81,368 (majority in the Pacific). New York city Los Angeles, together with San Francisco contain the largest concentration of Asians. Sakuntala Narasimhan *Indian Express*, April 29, 1990) says that at the time of the last census Indian Americans in the USA numbered 3,61,544 making them the fourth largest group of non-White immigrants after the Chinese, Philippinos, and Japanese. Since than the figures have risen sharply.

Gilani (1983 b) estimates 3,50,000 persons of South Asian origin in 1980 and a further 2,50,000 in Canada. Madha-

van's (1985) research confirms orders of magnitude and also indicates distribution of numbers in each of the main immigrants receiving Countries. He calculates that the 7,50,000 person of Indian origin in these Countries, 44 percent live in the United Kingdom, 26 percent in United States, 14 percent in Canada, 11 percent in continental Western Europe and 5 percent in Australia. Madhavan also estimates that the total number of persons of Indian origin living outside India (excluding Nepal) in 1981 was probably between 2.2 and 2.8 million'' (Appleyard 1988, 111-112).

Madhavan's research on Indian born persons living in the main receiving Countries confirms the success of post 1960's policies which favoured skilled and professional workers. In 1981, 80 percent of Indian born workers living in the United states were in the professional, technical and kindred categories. The percentages for other Countries were: Western Europe 75, Australia 74, Canada 52 and the United Kingdom because of the distinctive patterns of intake already noted only 15. Madhavan's research also confirms the magnitude and persistence of brain drain migration from India. One in seven of all professionally or technically qualified persons who emigrated to the United states between 1965 and 1979 was Indian-born. As expected, the composition of Indian born migration to each main receiving country greatly favoured professional and technical categories compared with their proportion in the Indian population. The emigrants been young workers: three quarters of Indian born persons who entered the United States between 1964 and 1981 were between the ages of 20 and 49 years. Sex ratios over the same period clearly reflect the predeliction of male bread winners to emigrate ahead of dependants. And unlike emigration during the first phase, the professional skilled migrants to main receiving Countries were drawn from all parts of India (Ibid. 112)

Out of the total immigrants to the United States only 13 percent immigrants originated in Asia between 1961 and 1970 but the proportion reached one third during the 1970's and has often exceeded 50 percent during the 1980's. According to United States 1979 immigrants census data there was an 800 percent increase in Asian immigration between 1965 and 1979. These changes occured principally at the expense of immigration from Europe. Furthermore, We notice the emergence of very strong ethnic 'pathways' to the United States. Among the more significant are those from the Indian Subcontinent, the Republic of Korea, the Philippines and Vietnam. These flows increased from Virtually no representation during the 1950's to a bridgehead in the 1960's. and an exponential increase during the 1970's By comparison the increase in Chinese immigration (including of Hongkong though substantial was nowhere near as rapid.

Eastern hemisphere immigrants were subject to a seven preference category system with each country awarded a cer tain proportion (but no more than 20,000) of the total number of visas.

Visa Applicants Eligibility and this seven Category Preference System Relating to the Eastern-Hemisphere Immigrants

1. Unmarried sons and daughters of United states citizens
2. Spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of lawful-resident aliens
3. Members of the professions and scientists and artists of exceptional ability, and their spouses and children
4. Married sons and daughters of United States Citizens and their spouses and children

5. Brothers and sisters of United States Citizens and their spouses and children
6. Skilled and unskilled workers in occupations for which a shortage of employable and willing persons exists in the United States
7. Refugees.

(Non-perference: Remaining Unused allocations. The Seventh Preference was removed by the Refugee Act 1980, Pl 96-212)

Souree: United States, 1980 a, 150, Chart AI, SCI-RD 198, 89, Quoted in Ibid 324)

The preference system has basic philosphical accord But these have some limited immigration restraints. For instance Eastern hemisphere immigrants entering under the third and sixth perference were prohibited from exhausting any unused visas from other categories and were required to obtain certification (Quoted in Ibid, 323). In addition the third and sixth preference categories favour those who can contribute immediately to the American economy but whose, immigration may represent significant losses for the sending Countries-a practice which has generated increasing attention in proposals for some sort of compensatory scheme for the Countries of origin (Quoted in Ibid, 323).

There is also a strong preference for skilled over unskilled workers (sixth preference) which may have led to a dampening of incentive to develop and train local manpower. Finally a number of probably unintended loopholes have been exploited by many immigration lawyers. These include the opportunity to travel to the United States to have one's child born there and thus gain the right to immigration without a labour certification requirement as the parent of an Ameri-

can Citizen (almost a third of total Western-hemisphere immigration since 1965 took that route) and the opportunity to bring one's retired parents to the United States (exempt from labour certification) who can then bring along their children under the second preferance-a process that reduces the total waiting time for Citizenship. Although the former loophole was closed in a 1978 amendment to the INA, the important variable seems to be a person's ability to afford these avenues (Quoted in Ibid, 325).

The U S President Mr. George Bush and his council of advisors have told the congress in early 1990 that America needs to increase the number of skilled immigrants in order to deal with an impending labour shortage. The emphasis on the need for increasing the number of immigrants a major shift from Mr Bush's acceptance speech out the Republican Convention in1988 when he had pledged to create 30 million jobs over the next eight years. A Report recently published in USA rebuts the argument that immigration hurts US workers saying that"Numerous studies suggest that the long run benefits of immigration greatly exceed any short run costs" *The Hindu*,Feb,9, 1990).

Why Tamil and Other Indians Attracted by USA: Charisma

USA is charisma, a magnetic pull for all Indians and other Asians. USA means wealth for all those who go for work in USA. USA means old age homes, modern comforts and other facilities. People from developing countries are attracted by these star pulls of USA. USA means comfortable living with all charms of life as understood by an average man today in all Countries. In USA people are well fed and well dressed with all amenities within their reach. Just put the right coin in the vending machine, out pops the desired drink coffee or juice or news papers, cigarattees etc.

The machines are every where at street corners, infront of hotels and supermarkets, at public parks and traffic squares. Social security and unemployment benefits are available to the jobless. Even school going children take pride in vending newspapers, candy and pop corn. The Americans are extroverts it is easy to break into conversation with them, they are understanding and helpful. Hence Indians including Tamils too are pulled towards USA the emerging world experimenting with an open heart, to the best extent possible the meaning of international multiracial identity, a journey eventhough began two centuries ago still quickened by the freedom loving policies of President Johnson of USA. USA means talents springing holy environment. irrespective of individual ethnic identity. Hence the Tamils and other Indians too who have potential skills and talents are gradually and voluntarily depending on their individual luck and individual choice, flowing towards USA, especially to New York and other big cities. Sometimes some of them even live in small villages with comforts. USA means rare opportunities, especially in the sphere of Indians education and through such opportunities talented Indians including Tamilians discover their personalities. USA means living with total freedom within the limits of American constitution and customary practices, where all including Tamils have educational. religious and other kinds of freedom. Individual freedom is self-evident the moment you land in the USA. The individual sets his own thinking, his own private yardstick. with which he measres a person, an event, a joke, a happening. In USA every one works both man and his spouse. And they take his tasks seriously. In offices wives of top executives working as professional secretaries do their chores meekly serving coffee, running errands, buying your cigarattes, mailing your letters and so on. There is also an informality where staffers address their superiors by their first names. The yes sir, no sir

formality of the old world is totally absent. There is easy communication between the junior and the executive, which makes working even and even enjoyable.

In short USA is a moral force, a strange self-expression of that moral force as for example symbolised by the Statue of Liberty living in the heart of New York.

USA, Tamils value structures Adjustments

The value structure of USA is partially different from the value structure of the Tamils. Hence both the other Americans and Tamil Americans manage to understand and accept each other as far as possible. The Tamils love normal married life with allowable restrictions in mutual relations. In short the Tamils love family life and within that freedom of the individual. In contrast, the local White Americans including the other foreign nationals who are Citizens of USA for several generations, love freer life, privacy and individual freedom more than traditional family structure. Very seldom you would come across an American male or female who has not been married twice. The marriage institution in USA is fragile as a twig. It snaps the moment a partner realises the other has been unfaithful More couples sue for divorce in USA that in any other Country. Hence Americans are amazed how marriages in India for instance, last forever. In USA we find "live in" system where couple live together without marriage. Marriage system in USA lacks spirituality, family tradition and religious sanctity. Americans are puzzled how in India large families with brothers and their wives and unmarried sisters live under one roof. Hence there is a trend towards partial loss of traditional family ways in the present day American society. Divorce has led to emotional disturbances and imbalances, which affect especially children

who are compelled to live and adjust with changing father or mother family, values. However the earlier Tamil settlers rarely had temptation pulls towards American values Today however, especially, those belonging to the second generation of Tamil settlers are to a certain extent emotionally disturbed because of the conflict between traditional Tamil ways and modern American thinking.

Tamil Hindu Temples

In USA Tamils live to the best extent possible, with Tamil values. Tamil ways of life especially Tamil religious environment is kept alive to a certain extent. Many Tamils worship Madurai Meenakshi who has charisma. Hence we notice Tamil Americans too have built a Temple for Meenakshi at Texas. Here Tamil worship is preserved with love for traditional practices. People from different parts of USA visit and worship Meenaskhi Amman. They love such religious trips, which help them to remove major obstacles that they face in their lives. Worship is faith and hence faith is a tradition preserved by all the American Tamils, irrespective of the nations to which they belong. Tamils in USA need such Tamil holy environment in the midst of temptations of USA. Hence Meenakshi has come to USA, thanks to the cooperative effort of all the well to do religious minded Tamils of America.

There are also other Tamil Hindu Temples in USA, For example there is a Siva Temple in San Francisco, built earlier than Madurai Meenakshi Temple of USA. In this Temple Siva alone is worshipped as the principle deity along with other Gods and Goddesses, especially Vinayaka and Muruga worshipped by the Tamils. Siva is loved by all Tamils. These Dravidian Tamils worship him with Tamil language

hymns such as *Teevaram* and other Tamil religious works. To them Siva is a Tamil God, and hence can be worshipped in ancient Tamil ways. Infact it appears that Tamil Dravidians were the first to discover and worship Siva in ancient Tamil traditions. Siva is Holy and hence all Hindus worship him, irrespective of Aryan or Drvidian approaches and method. He is loved by all the Hindus all over the world and hence this Siva Temple pulls all the Hindus who visit USA. Siva Temple of USA has many local American worshippers too.

Another temple is Pillayar Temple of New York. This Temple too is built by the tradition loving Tamil of New York. Pillayar is also known as Ganesa, Vinayaka. He is worshipped by all the Hindus, and his worship originated in Tamil nadu probably around the Sangam period. It appears Pillayar worship became popular in Tamilnadu during the Pallava period, especially after the emergence of Bhakti cult in the 5th or 6th century A.D. Vinayaka Chaturthi is thus also celebrated all over USA by the Tamils and this celebration is done with love in this New York Vinayaka Temple in which all Hindus of all parts of India actively participate and pray with love and faith. All Tamil festival are celebrated with reverence by the Tamil Hindus of New York in this Vinayaka temple.

At Los Angeles near Hollywood the Telugus and Tamils have established Sri Venkateshwara Temple much older than Meenakshi Temple of USA. Venkateshwar Temple was built to enrich eastern values to fulfill the needs of all the Hindus of the East including those living in Fiji and other South Pacific islands. *Venkateswara Ashtotram* which protects all those who have belief in chanting this is recited almost daily in this Venkateshwara Temple of Los Angeles.

However the local people around do not participate in such prayerful gatherings. Only a select intelligent few faithful ones participate in such *bhajans* and prayers with love. *Venkateshwara Ashtotram* is in praise of Lord Venkateshwara of Tirupatthi. Lord Venkateshwara is the God who is most popular in the whole of East, next to Buddha and Siva, Muruga and Mariamman. Hence it is not surprising to find the Temple for Venkateshwara in USA too.

At Pittsburg the Hindus including Tamils and Telugus have built a Dasavatara Temple, is a Temple built for noble ideals to explain the Hindu concept of *Avatara*. The Hindus have also built a Sivalaya at Hawaii, popular among local Citizens too. Tamils worship together with understanding and love in all Tamil Hindu Temple. Both Aryan and Dravidian worship method are used in these Temples which indicate the union of Aryan and Dravidian religious culture, that took place in Tamilnadu especially from the early Pallava period. Tamils of USA therefore are the symbols and self expressions of this new union of composite Aryan Dravidian culture.

Food Habits and US Environment

Tamil in America miss Tamil homely restaurant atmosphere, which they all prefer. However inorder to live with that environment they in some parts of America have established hotels, where we get mainly Tamil delicacies like *Iddly Vadai*, *Masala Dosai* etc. They also perpare north Indian dishes like *Kulcha*, *Chola*, *Batura*, *Chappathi mattar Panneer*, *Allo Masala* etc. In addition they have lovely western delicacies like hamburger, Baccon, Chicken prepared both in Indian style and local ways. Tamils have love for local food too,hence these types of world delicacies. In New York itself

there are more than 30 Restaurants, where you get Indian food items including at Madras Woodlands. Infact there are around 75,000 Indians living in these parts. Tamils have love for western ways of living too. Hence these Tamil live like this in an alien environment. Inspite of these arrangements many of them miss their home cities and districts atmosphere to a certain extent. Tamils eat mostly in their homes, meals and breakfasts and other delicacies prepared in their homes. Only rarely they go to such Tamil restaurants, which are expensive but however are visited by all Americans, irrespective of nationality. We get orient food at Sanfrancisco, where you get sea food at Fisherman's wharf. Tamil too for a change visit and enjoy these delicacies prepared in these homely eating shops and restaurants. Tamils visit other nationalities cafeteria and eating shops too. Americans favourite food remains the same from New York to New Orleans. The food is wholesome nutritious, but generally flat. Typical American breakfast is tumbler fule of fresh orange juice, fresh fruit, waffles or Hot ban cakes, "farm fresh" (whatever they mean) eggs, syrrup, honey, sausages, or ham or beef strips or daubs of mashed potatoes and mugfuls of coffee mostly black coffee, The American fondness of black coffee is legendary. The Americans favourite food is hamburger. They are great meat eaters, wherever you turn oversized food advertisements succulent hamburgers, fried chicken drum sticks, golden french fries and beef. Some Tamils invite foreigners and entertain them in their houses serving them Tamil meals. Very seldom they serve these meals and breakfast on banana leaves, as for example done in many houses of Tamilnadu while entertaining visitors and other relatives. Tamil family tradition is maintained. A family invariably consisted of father, mother, and children. Some keep their old parents too. They love the American environment, especially because

American homes have modern gadjets like electric heaters, Refrigerator. Computers etc Many Tamils have own apartments. They work hard and save as much as possible. They own cars, Tvs, Telephones, Videos etc. Which are owned always by a decent American family in America. irrespective of their nationality. The entire USA is flooded with Japanese cars. Similarly textiles, electronic goods, watches. cameras. computers, calculators are imported from Japan. Taiwan and Honkong supermarkets such as John Plain and Sears Roebuck run a high inventory of imported goods. Tamils love Tamil movies, which they seldom see in American theatres. Only rarely they get such opportunities. Hence they prefer seeing Tamil films in their homes Sometimes they entertain their visitors and guests belonging to different nationalities, with such cinema shows. Tamils love Tamil plays too and some time Tamil Associations stage a few Tamil plays written by famous Tamil play writers and local Tamil writers. They love such entertainments because they love Tamil culture more than American entertainments, more than American culture. Some Americans too visit these lovely Tamil cultural evening shows and relax and enjoy. Tamils of USA are also publishing a Tamil monthly known as 'Kumari' edited by M.M. Raju, in which Tamil poems, short stories, Book reviews etc are published. Hence the Tamils have played a significant role in spreading Tamil culture.

Tamil Traditions

Tamil Association too play such role and we have North American Tamil Association, a federation of a few Tamil Associations of USA. For example the Petersburg Tamil Association merged with North American Tamil Association in 1986. Tamil Associations have active role in spreading Tamil culture. They live with a sense of a mission to pre-

serve and promote Tamil culture and promote language. They promote Tamil dance,Tamil music particularly Carnatic music. They preserve traditional prayer form and pray on many holy occasions including Holy, Deepavali, Vinayaka Chaturthi, Saraswathi Puja, Navaratri and Masi Maham. They play holy music like *Vishnu Sahasranamam*, *Nalayara Divaya Prabandam* and *Tirupugaz* on such occasions. They love and recite *Teevaram* and *Tirupugaz* on festive occasions. In their homes too a feeew American Tamils pray reciting *Tirumandiram Teevaram and Nalayara Divya Prabandam.* One Bommappan Pujari from Coimbatore went to USA and on a festive day walked on fire. It was recorded in Pon Baskara Martandan's *Devi Darisanam, Pannari Mariamman*, (a booklet published by Ambal Pattippakam, Madras-34, 30-31) Tamils love western music too, especially western folk-songs particularly Cliff Richards songs and Elvis Priestly's and other modern popular pop-stars tape recorded songs. In night time, in USA you have dancing, movies, theatres, clubs, parties, a lot of different T V. stations, poetry reading, plays concerts etc. Tamils of America too visit them but many old generation Tamils avoid dancing clubs and night clubs.

Jackson Heights

All those Indians who visit New York will not be able to miss Jackson Heights, a part of Queens village (or Colony). All kind of Indian goods are available today at Jackson Heights. A majority of Indians live in Queens Village and hence Indian shops were opened in this village, especially since 1970. One of the first shops to be opened in Jackson Heights is "House of Spices". In 1973 another shop "Sam and Raj" were opened. Before the establishments of these shops there were only a few electronic goods selling Indian

shops at Manhattan. Queen and this part of New York could be described as India town.

Today if a visitor walks through 74th street of New York he will forget he is living in America. The atmosphere breathes Indian, echoing Hindi songs, displaying Indian magazines like Eves Weekly, Star and Style, Star Dust, the posters of Amitabh Bachan, Anil Kapur and in the textile shops, the posters of Meenakshi Seshadri, Padmini Kolapurari (wearing different kinds of sarees) Jackson Heights developed into this Himalayan heights during the course of last ten years and approximately more than 10,000 visitors visit every week this Indian shopping centre. In the Grocery shops we get more than thousand items. In the 74th street and in Patel Brothers located at Roosevelt Avenue they sell *Paan Masala, Tidir Idly Powder, Mulagapoddy powder, Garam Masala*, Horlicks, Amul Baby foods, Butter, items prepared from herbs etc. For example around 25 years ago such Indian delicacis were not available in USA. In Jackson Heights business is increasing every year by 10 per cent, and more new shops are springing up. Because of keen competition in some shops we get things cheap, less than the original fixed price. 'Jewels of India' is a famous jewellery shop and its business has increased since its establishment by 300%. Jackson Heights shop keepers have formed an Association.

Free enterprise is an act of faith in USA. New ideas are encouraged and public support is spontaneous. Even aliens are given incentives, Bereft of all bureaucratic red tape and state control even aliens have become millionaires overnight. Indian entrepreneurs; as for example in Jackson Heights. by dint of hardwork and dedication have established business that are an envy of the locals to the extent that

in some parts of the USA local jealousy has given rise to brazen hatred. The "dot busters" the dot refers to the *bindi* on the Indian women foreheads is that crude manifestation.

Two kinds of Indians in America

Still, it must be clarified, that all Indian women do not wear '*bindi*' on their foreheads because increasing numbers of the younger segements of the Indian community do not rally together as Indians" by focussing on issuse pertaining to Indians in the USA in general. Because there are now two kinds of Indians in America-one that grew up in India and subequently settled in America as adults. and the other that was born in the US and knows India only as a vicarious legacy of relatives and places visited on short trips (or often not even that).

Unlike the older "first generation" Indian-Americans, this emerging second generation has, at best, only tenuous links with the Indian heritage. Culturally, geographically and emotionally, and by circumstances and inclination, these young adults are more American than Indian, and for that reason they feel a sense of alienation from the perspectives of their parents' generation in many ways. With this generation of progeny born in the sixties now into its twenties, their search for a separate identity has led to a regrouping of the Indian community into two factions, each with a different set of preoccupations and priorities. While the spotlights have often been turned on the original or "first generation" expatriates, the special dilemmas of the younger generation that is now emerging as young adults have not been adequately highlighted.

The older generation, that migrated to the US as adults, has one foot in Indian culture and the other in the Ameri-

can ethos, and manages to straddle the divide. Their nostalgia for what they grew up with, the customs and culture instilled in them through their growing years, is real. Their get togethers reflect this and are mainly to keep this Indianness alive. For their children born in America, however, there is no such core of Indianness to begin with, even if the family, speaks its mother tongue at home and eats native food. Thanks to peer group pressures and the need to conform, at School and at College, these young adults are all but aliens to their Indian heritage.

Take *Divali* celebrations for instance, when the older women deck up in silk saris and jewellery and organise a festive spread of Indian sweets; they will speak in Hindi or Tamil or other regional languages in a conscious effort to recreate an ambience they sorely miss. For their children, on the other hand (dressed in jeans or skirts, or the latest in American fashions) the element of nostalgia which overruns such gatherings is completely absent, and the chasm between the two generations seems particularly evident.

In the South eastern state of the US, which has a large Indian community made up of students as well as older faculty or professionals they have a traditions of monthly get-togethers for *Puja*. Each family takes turns playing host, and around 100 members gather to sing *bhajans*, recite devotional verses, perform *arti* and distribute *prasad*. "The idea is to keep these traditions alive for our children who were born and grew up here and are not exposed to these aspects of Indian life", says Dr. Raman a long time resident in the US.

The second generation Tamils or other Indians do not have such enthusiam for *puja* or *Bhajan*. They even pronou-

nce Tamilnadu with typically nasal American drawl as '*Tah-meel Nahdoo*". On such occasions like *Sankranti puja* only adults swoop on the *pulao, Pongal, Idiyappam, Kadhi* and Kheer and sway with devotional fervour and close their eyes while chanting "*Om Jay Jagdeesha Hare*". But the young adult Indian Americans prefer coke and candy and American food and to them the *arti*, incense and *haldi kumkum*, for all practical purposes are as alien as to couple of Americans who come to these pujas as invitees. For them *Dipali* is *Dippy*, Natarajan is Nat. They are not even interested in Indian party politics or any news about Indian unlike older generation of Indians. They dress like Americans, prefer American style fast foods and past/times and their assimilation into peer goup life styles is far deeper than that of the older generation which clings to a separate identity as Indians. The adults hanker for and enjoy Hindi or Tamil movies. The youngsters want to know if there are subtitles in English. In matters small and large, their alienation is thus real. The split between the two generations of Indians in the US is most noticeable in the case of young adult daughters who prefer American values and their parents who struggle hard to impose on them Indian traditional values. Infact there is nothing Indian about these adults except their skin colour and their names. No wonder then there are two Indian Associations on this and some other campuses, one for the first generation Indian Americans and the other for the second generation. Indan Americans, where they discuss for example about a skiing holiday for mid term vacation. Henee we notice two different sets of interests and perspectives emerging among the Tamils and other Indian Americans. one flaunting their Indian heritage and the other fenatically clinging to their heritage. During Pujas, elders inorder to nurture and keep alive the links with Indian heritage for the second generation even distribute hand outs with *bhajans* and

slokas spelt out in Roman script and transliteration (see for example, Sakuntala Narasimhan, Born in the USA, *Indian Express*, April, 29,1990).

Maithli Jayaraman, Sydney *(Australia)*

The indifference shown by foreign Indians towards Indian customs, particularly dress, stems from the fact that they are neither relevant nor convenient in the everyday context of living abroad. Customs are very personal indeed and one need not broadcast it to others especially in a country where many racial people live with equality. "Indianness" does not mean wearing dhoti or saree alone if that is so, then one has to exclude all those people in India who wear tribal garments or even Western dress from being Indian. What and how one wears depends largely on the climate, availability and convenience.

Patriotism has nothing to do with one's customs, language or religion. Before expecting Indanness from non-resident Indians, it is better to inculcate this sense of belonging and oneness in Indians living within India. The present day crisis of communal dishasmony in India directly stems from a lack of patriotism in India". (The Hindu)

Health Culture

Going to America means also giving more attention to one's health. Americans are scared stiff by health hazards. Cigarettes without filter tips are a rartiy and smokers these days are looked down upon as socially retarded. These days Americans chew less gums (bad for teeth) women eat less candy (weight watching is one new American fad) and smoking is less popular. To reduce the extra fat, entire families, communities and country residents take to jogging be it rain

or sunshine Some American Tamils are also influenced by this health culture psychology of America. Infact compared to other Indians, especially Gujaratis and Sikhs, Tamils adjust much more easily with the American way of life and environment during their social contact hours. However inside their houses, they always maintain typical Tamil homely atmosphere.

In the USA Tamil boys and girls students are able to learn Tamil only in private School. Further Tamil Associations and parents in their in homes teach Tamil. A large number of students learn Tamil because of these opportunities. Especially Tamil Associations efforts have borne fruit.

In addition in six universities Tamil is taught. These help to learn Tamil in colleges as well as to learn Tamil literature and culture. The Libraries attached to these Universities too help in this task. During the last twenty Five years Tamil language and Tamil research have developed in a noteworthy manner. The number of students learning Tamil through Universities are sizable and they come next to those who learn Hindi. California, Philadelphia Seattle, Michigan, Boston and Chicago are contributing to this development significantly. There are several professors in the USA who know Indian History. Indian languages and Tamil language and are spread all over the USA. Severals hundreds American students and Teachers Visit India, stay and learn Tamil and other languages In addition they learn about Folklore, history, Tamil life pattern, Religion and generally about Tamil Society and also publish articles and books relating to them.

After 1970 research was concentrated on Indian religion and articles have been written about them. In 12 educational institutions all over the world Tamils can aquire degrees relating to Religion. Out of these six are in the USA.

Before 1950 only a few devoted attention on South India. But after 1970 the number of researchers have notably increased After 1950 at national level centres for South Asian Research studies were established. As a result both through Private and Government institutions opportunities blossomed for learning Tamil. In addition more opportunities were also created by Ford, Rockefeller and Fulbright Foundations, who encouraged by giving educational grants Students were inspired to learn Tamil. USA Educational Foundation of India functions as a bridge between India and the USA. Generally those who learn Tamil also concentrate on studying Tamil culture, Tamil literature dance, music and drama and even do research. Among the researchers on India eight percent are American students.

All Tamil professors have taken their degrees either from India or the USA; they consider both Tamil and English as their mother tongue; some have taken doctorate degrees. We are surprised to hear the sweet pure Tamil spoken by professors whose mother tongue is English. Professor V.S.Rajan George L. Haort, Kausalya Hart. Jim Lindhome, Indira Norman. Hallshipman, W. Clothey. James France. Late A.K. Ramanujam have all contributed and are contributing significantly.

The life of the Siddhas, ancient sculptures discovered in Tamilnadu, Coins, inscriptions are also utilised for research purposes in the USA

If we want Tamil language and research to prosper further in the USA, then both USA and India should have good friendly relations. Then only we can be benefited by US educational grants and US educational institutions where research on India are patronised. Tamils are now busy collec-

ting funds to institute endownments. They have established an endownment in California University and are busy collecting funds for supporting the professor to be appointed for that endownment. Their goals are to collect enough Tamil Text books for degree courses and research to spread Tamil educa tion through modern scienlific method and to give salary to a Tamil professor. Both individuals and Institutions are donating for their endownment.

Tamil Federations of America

Tamil Sangam of Metropolitan Washington & Baltim ore. Tamil Association of Greater Delaware Valley New York, Tamil Sangam, Bharathi Society of America, New York, Ilankai Tamil Sangam and Tamil Sangam of Harrisburg all these Tamil Sangams are member Associations of Federation of Tamil Sangam of North America.

The North American Tamil Sangam Associations are actively engaged in spreading Tamil culture with love for all Americans. The Tamils love not only American dollars and American hospitality but also American open mind which helps them to blossom with love for their respective individual cultural values They love America because USA permits them to coexist peacefully whithout losing their cultural personality.

Tamil Sangam of Metropolitan Washington and Baltimore

This Sangam was established in 1979 to preserve and promote Tamil heritage including Tamil language etc. Its aim is to help the Tamils living in Washington and Baltimore to keep in touch with Tamil cultural values. The founders of the Sangam says in "here (America) our educational and work ethics ......are the commodities which have placed us here

as a select ethnic group with one of the highest per capital income in the country. Trying to avoid the mistakes of our forefathers, who failed to establish and continue their ethnic identity in those countries of trade in the east and west. We Tamils here are attempting to establish and perpetuate our Tamil heritage and language by forming Tamil Sangam and a common federation of those Sangams ..... we have almost 140 families as active members of our Sangam". The Sangam's activities include publication of a bimonthly Tamil magazine called *Tenral* organise seminars on Tamil culture and literary discourses. It celebrates Tamil New Year and *Muitthamiz Vizha* every year. On these occasions Scholars in Tamil including those visiting America especialy from Tamilnadu are invited to take active participation and are honoured with love for promoting Tamil cultural identity. The Sangam has its own drama troupe also popularly discribed as Kavizhar Kannadasan Kalai Manram. This Manram enacts plays on social themes relating to Tamil culture and has abundant love for Tamil heritage. These dramas are perforned not only In Washington but also in other cities. Free Tamil classes are also held on weekends and other holidays. Children studying in these classes also take active role in these dramas staged by this Sangam members.

The Sangam considers itself as the torch bearer of Tamil heritage and believes for this noble purpose to cooperate with other sister Tamil Sangams of America The President of the Sangam is Sri. Balasubramanian Raja Secretary R. Srinivasan Vice President Sri.P. Kuppuswamy Joint Secretary Sr S. Kannapan and Treasure. Sri. Sothy Vignarajah.

Tamil Association of Greater Delaware Valley

This Tamil Association was founded in 1971 and revitalised in 1983 to carry on Tamil cultural, literary and other social activities. It consideres itself as a cultural, charitable, secular, non-political organisation. In this organisation four functions are usually held every year. They are: Tamil New Year's day, Pongal, Deepavali and annual Picnic in July every year. In addition the Association conducts two or three cultural programmes annually depending on the availability of visiting Indian artistes.

The Sangam runs a Tamil School for Tamil children who are interested in learning Tamil language and Tamil culture. Classes are conducted during the weekends may by only for three or four hours. Usually around 24 or 25 children attened these classes regularly and learn meaning of Tamil values from teachers well versed in Tamil cultural values. They learn about Tamil history, Tamil drama, *Bharathanatyam* etc.

The Sangam also has literary club and its activities include debates on Tamil culture, music festivals, rituals etc. The literary club's topics for debate are announced earlier in order to promote, give and take healthy discussion.

The Sangam has a publication committee too. It publishes a quarterly news letter and a magazine known as "*Tamil malar*" which is published once in four months It also has an organisation for conducting sports, especially tennis and table tennis. An annual atheletic competion is held during the annual picnic. In addition the Hosts Committee Organises family hosts for students from India who are new to Philedelphia area. The initial orientation is appreciated by the students. Social issuse relating to youth are taken care of by the Youth Forum. Cultural shows are taken care of by

Fine Arts Committee. The most interesting part of this club is the Human Service, committee which looks after the emotional needs in a balanced way as far possible among the members of the club. Other support work are also done by this Philedelphia club which probably is the best in Philadelphia, a model for all other foreign Associations. It acts also as a link between other Indian organisations in Philadelphia area and with other Tamil Sangam on the east coast. The Sangam has the goal to foster and promote the welfare of the Tamils including Tamil culture. Elections are held annually in October to elect the President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, Chairpersons of various committees etc.

New York Tamil Sangam

This Sangam was founded in 1970. The main founder members were P. Kumaresan, C. Shanmugham and S.G. Shanmugasundaram The Sangam has functioned in an admirable way from 1970 to 1978 during which period it was more popular among Indians living and visiting New York. Tamil films imported from Tamilnadu along with other films are shown often. In addition other social get together including Tamil New Year's day, Pongal and Deepavali are arranged. These functions are usually well attended, eventhough before 1977 they were probably more popular. Tamil musicians and dancers, are invitied to participate in these Sangam's cultural programmes. New York being the Primary port of entry to the United States, the Tamil in New York are fortunate to attend performances of almost every Tamilian musician and dancer. Video and dispersion of New York Tamils to the suburbs of New York have changed the attitudes of a few Tamils towards this Club's untility.

This Sangam coordinates sometimes its functions relating to Tamil festivals with Bharathi Society and Ilankai Tamil

Sangam This cooperation has resulted in an improved attendance and significantly increased the interest of the New York Tamilians in developing the activities of the Sangam.

Bharathi Society of America. New York

One of the oldest Indian Associations in New York is this society, founded in 1967. It promotes Tamils welfare measures projects and entertains the local Tamils with nice cultural evening. It arranges special cultural shows of the popular artists who visit USA as well as of those budding prodigies. It also organiseds annual picnics and family get together. The most famous functions of this Association are Bharatiyar's day also known as children's day and Saint Thyagaraja Day. Sometimes Bharata Natyam and Dramas like the one held in 1988-89 by Vadivel Theatres Groupe are held.

Ilankai Tamil Sangam

Sri Lankan Tamils living in New York and other parts of USA founded this Sangam in 1977 in order to promote the common interest of the Sri Lankan Tamils living in USA. Its current membership from all parts of USA may be around 200. In addition to the cultural and social programmes, the Sangam is also involved in the humanitarian and security issue of Tamil speaking Sri Lankans.

Tamil Sangam of Harrisburg

Originally known as Tamil Sangam of Central Pennsylvania, this Association was founded on April 15, 1972. by one K. Ramaswamy. Its motive was to unite all Tamils including Sri Lankan Tamils. Families living in Harrisburg, New York, Chambersburg, Lancaster, State College, Bethelham Gettysburg and Reading P.A. are active members of this Club. Its name

was changed to the current one in 1984, when the number of Tamil families gradully increased in this part of USA. All programmes which are normally associated with Tamils are occasionally celebrated with zest. At present there are 45 families who are members of this Association. Besides Tamil movies, children's programmes including dance, language classes cultural activities instructions on such topic as embroidery. quilt making etc are arranged,

Tamil Language Study In USA

Tamil language has been studied in USA not only by Tamils living in USA but also by a few Americans and other foreigners living in American Universities. They are living with love for promoting cultural interests of USA and India especially Tamilaham. The foreigners love Tamils only for academic reasons and not because of any specific motivation like love for the richness of Tamil language. They attach value to Tamil heritage purely from cultural and some decent official interests. American scholars began to show interest in Tamil studies including Tamil language only from 1950s and especially after the creation of the American Indian studies (AIIS) in 1960s and the founding of the Soci ety for South India (ICRSI) in 1970s. Tamil too are encouraged to be actively associated with such Tamil promotional activities.

Tamils study Tamil language purely out of love for Tamil culture and not because of the other specific motivation. Children born to Tamil parents in USA are also forced to learn Tamil by their parents advising them to keep in touch with their mother tongue and Tamil cultural heritage. Such children study Tamil for around 5 to 6 hours in a month during each weekends. Some pick up effortlessly and

some lose contact with their heritage due to unavoidable circumstances. Students are taught by Tamil Associations members and are encouraged to cultivate slowly the habit of picking up Tamil.

Graduate Schools

Hence in the USA Tamil studies is promoted in several Universitites, especially in Minnessotta University, and Harvard University and Cornell University, Ithacca. Tamil has been the second most widely studied Indian language after Hindi) in the graduate schools of North America And some six graduate Centres have major facilities for the study of Tamil language and literature. Scholars trained in the history and politics of Tamil India are dispersed in over a score of Colleges and Universities on the Continent. Attempts also have been made to study about all other aspects including religious life of the Tamils. Fred. W. Clothey, Department of Religious Studies, University of Pittsburg, P.A. observes succinctly that "more pages have been published by North Americans since 1970 on the religious life of Tamils than had ever been published before and of a dozen institutions around the world which provide graduate degrees in the study of religion enabling specialisation on aspects of Tamil religious life, thought, and history, five sixths are in North America "(American Koptulct, 22)". Prof Clothey himself has published "*The Many Faces of* Murukan". The *History and Meaning of a South India God in 1978* (2) *Rhythm and Intent. Ritual studies from South India in* 1983 (3) *Kantarananputi and Kantaralankaram in 1984.* (4) Recorded Viedeo cassettees on *Pankuniutiram* festival at Palani and *Shanka Sasti (Kondasasti)* at Tirchendur.

Boost to Indological Studies

Indological studies in the U.S. received a boost in the 1950s by the creation of national centres for South Asian studies and the availability of research funds from federal and private sources, especially Forde, Rockfeller and Fulbright grants. After the establishment of the American Institute of Indian studies (AIIS) in 1960s PL 480 funds became available which helped American Scholars to do research work on India. Of these 20 percent of the research project were focussed on Tamil studies; as a result by 1970 research came to be focussed on specific regions of India. And as a result Society for South India (CRSI) was founded in early 1970s. Tamil books too, as for example in Minnessotta University, were and are being purchased in sizable numbers for University Libraries. Tamil weeklies. bi-monthlies, monthlies, quarterly, half yearly annual and bi-annual magazines and journals like *Kumudam*, *Kalkandu*, *Ananda Viketan* etc all purchased especially since that period. Tamil dailies like *Dinathanthi*. *Dinamani* etc are also acquired in a few places like Michigan University, Minesotta University Harvad University etc.

It appears, as Fred W. Clothey fears that PL 480 monies are ali but expended and Ford and Rockefeller funds now have now other priorities than "area studies" And the American Institute of Indian studies, so dependent on remnants of PL 480 funds for fellowships, faces a real crisis as such funds are likely to be reduced considerably by 1993. Continuous interest in such scholarly pursuits depends on the mutual healthy relations between India and the USA.

Visiting Tamil Professors

Tamil scholars, including foreigners who have specialised in Tamil studies visit American universities like chi-

cago University, California University, Philadelphia University etc. to teach about Tamils and their values including language. The following have made such visits to several American Universities in recent decades. Prof. S. Shanmugam Pillai, Prof. Kumaraswami Raja, Prof. Andiappan, Prof. Vaidyanathan, Prof.T.P Meenakshisundaram, Prof. Radhakrishnan, Prof. Paramasivam, Prof. Kausalya, the former Vice Chancellor Tamil University Prof. Agesthialingom, Prof. Ramanujam, Prof. Annamalai and Prof Vijaya Venugopal and a few more. Foreign scholas like Dr.Asher had also served as Professors of Tamil literature. Other foriegn professors are like Andra Sjoberg of Texas University, James Ker of Cornell University, Professor of Schiffman, Chicago University, George Hart of California University, Prof. Lindhome, formerly of Annamalai University, Chidambaram, Prof. Lingon of Pennsylvania Uinversity. For teaching Tamil to these American students some of these visiting Professors had written Tamil textbooks.

US Universities and Tamil Studies

It appears the first U.S. University to introduce Tamil studies in USA is Pennsylvania University, which introduced it in 1950. Prof. Norman Brown seems to have played a special role in connection with this pioneering effort. Likewise due to the inspiration of Prof. Milton Singhor Tamil Studies were introduced in Chicago. And in this pioneering efforts Prof. T.P. Meenakshisundaram has taken active role too Similarly Prof. M.B. Emeneau, a Tamil Scholar played a key role in introducing Tamil studies in California University. Tamil studies were introduced in Washington University, Seattle in 1970. Former Vice - Chancellor of Tamil Uinversity Prof. Agesthialingom had also contributed significantly to the promotion of Tamil Studies in Michigon University.

In 1990 Tamil language study is popular in four Universities. (1) Berkeley, California, (2) Pensylvania University, (3 Seattle Washington University and Chicago University. In Berkeley Tamil is taught by George Hart, who studied in Pachayappa's College, Madras and who has married a Tamilian lady. His computer software on Tamil language learning is widely used throughout USA. He has translated Sangam Classics, *Aranyakandam* of Kamba Ramayanam and some Tamil short stories. One of his famous books is "*The Poetry of Ancient Time*". He is also affectionately called as "Kambadasan" (disciple of Poet Kamban). Dr. Schoffman and his team teach Tamil at Seattle. One of the teachers here is at present engaged in a Comparative study of American Tamil and Tamils of Tamilnadu. In the Pennyslvania University Mrs. Rajam of the Department of Indology is teaching Tamil. She has published a book titled "*A Dictionary of Sangam Grammar*". Late Prof. Ramanujam was teaching at Chicago University. A well known Scholar, he had tranlated Sangam works. (1) *Poems of Love and War (Sangam Agam and Puram)* (2) *Interior Landscape (Kuruntoggai)* However all these Tamil language teaching do not benefit much the Tamil immigrants. These immigrants, if lucky, get the opportunity to have private coaching from some of these teachers or from other immigrant Tamils.

Attempts to Save Tamil Culture from Neglect

Karpagam Muthrasan says that in USA Tamil boys and girls learn about 4 to 5 hours Tamil language in a month in USA. And these classes are conducted by Tamil Associations. To these students Tamil is a foreign language and not only really mother tongue. But as soon as they start learning, their attitude towards Tamil language changes and they show more interest in learning mixing class teaching with enthusiasm and self effort. These students are tau-

ght to write *Uyir Ezhuthu* in the beginning and then *Mey Ezhuthukal* and then after wards *Uzhir Mey Ezhuthukal.* They are taught to read loudly. Particular attention is paid to pronounciation and also they are taught to understand the differentiation between spoken and written Tamil. This is especially essential when the students are only 4 or 5 years old. Infact in USA we find some American students around 20 years old learning Tamil in the Universities speak Tamil like Tamilians. They have also an open mind to correct their mispronunciation if any.

N. Nagulendvan, Maryland observes: "Although Tamils have fared quite well economically in the United States, Tamil culture is suffering Widespread neglect and indifference as the already minute Tamil community is spreading out over the Continent, often leaving only a few Tamil families in each town. Thus many Tamil children are presently growing up with little more than an elementary knowledge of the language and virtually no perception of their ancient culture or their rich heritage. This situation is certainly easy enough to analyse, the challenges is in finding a solution. Many including myself, believe the answer lies in organisations such as the Tamil Sangam".

Fred. W. Clothey of the University of Pittspurg says that Tamils in America should help. In this opinion: "The time may have come for a new partnership to emerge between Scholars and the expatriated Indian community. It is to be hoped, for example, that more and more second generation Indian Americans will complete appropriate graduate programmes and become the scholarly interpreters of their tradition to the new compatriots. Equally important, research in Tamil studies, for example, is bound to decline over the next two decades unless significant steps are taken to fund such

studies in an on going way. A number of us have a long held dream that endownments be established to help support scholarly investigation and teaching of things Indian in North America, To that end, some of us are currently exploring the feasibility of founding the Endownment for Tamil studies, a fund which as, it grows will provide interest enough to fund small grants for research project and innovative programming in the study of Tamil literature, history, culture and religion at institutions of higher learning in North America''

Future Trends

The magnitude and character of Tamil immigrants to USA will depend on the receiving country's immigration politics. Because of the increase in Tamil population, especially of technical and skilled workers, the increase, in the number of developing countries, the great disparities of Wealth between nations, the contemporary technological revolution such as for example jet planes and satellite beams and the international exposure to movies and magazines, by which even the poorest are increasingly becoming familiar with the vastly higher material standards in the relatively rich and more developed countries, and a rise in the family income of many Tamils, there has never been such potential for the movement of Tamils between Countries especially to USA. A country of more and more and that too in USA, old fears about Asians and displaced persons had faded. Immigrants today possessed most of the rights of Citizens the right to buy property, to open bank accounts, to enroll in schools, to travel freely, although they would not be allowed to vote or to serve on juries until they become Citizens, in their other privileges and obligations they resembled native born Americans. Moreover the rhetoric of liberalism,

and civil rights, so typical of the sixties, loosened restrictive cultural styles and proclaimed to all. the right to do ones 'own thing'. It bred new respect for and recognition of the authentic folkways and values of immigrants. Hence no one is pressurised to forget his religion or country. In fact USA has become less narrowly race and ethnicity conscious than most other nations. Individuals have been given increased power to shape their own lives. Hence many educated Indians still even now think of going West, of political freedom of Cadillacs of money and mobility, of wanting to go to America like every one else and their hopes appear to be attainable. Some come as students do a degree take Jobs and melt into U.S. city's neighbourhood Indians combine ambition, thrift ond hardwork and become economic successes In US it is tough to get a good position but an average Indian works hard and gets it. Indian immigrants basic needs are met, they are even more than comfortable, and hence they feel at home in America. At the same time Indians top position status has kindled the jealousy of some young Americans youths who style themselves as '*Dotbusters*' and indulge occasionally in anti Indian outbursts. Inspite of such shortcoming, most of the Indians are determined to sinkroots for an American future. Changing Countries thus help develop talents status and materialist philosophy of life but in the end still no one operates completely outside his own country, to which his ancestors belong.

Canada

Canada is a multi-racial, multi - Cultural nation. Tamils began to migrate and settle in Canada in sizable numbers only since 1970. They come seeking educational opportunities, material benefits and for promoting their health. Especially in 1970s some Tamils educated in England came and settled in Canada. The Canadian Government too gave them enough help and opportunities·

In late 1980s Tamil in large numbers began to migrate and settle in Canada. It was during this time in the midst of its decreasing population, Canada was encouraging refugees from Africa and Asia to migrate and settle in Canada. Before this mostly Europeans especially the British alone were Canadian citizens. The Vietnamese refugees and the Indian refugees sent out by Idi Amin were permitted to stay in Canada. Noticing the liberal policy of the Canadian Government many SriLankan Tamils migrated and settled in Canada. Within a short time the number of Tamils who came to Canada espesially to Quebee and other neighbour places increased.

According to Canadian Government data in 1981, 2400 SriLankans lived in Canada; of these 630 were Tamils. In 1986 SriLankans increased to 5835; of these Tamils were 1280. In 1991 SriLankans were 23,150; of these Tamils were 8695. This official data is not totally dependable because a majority of those who came from SriLanka were Tamils. May be the data given above is misleading because many Tamils who came and settled in Canada properly stated to the census staff English as their mother tongue.

Further Canadian Government has signed an agreement with the UN Human Rights Commission. As per this agree-

ment without giving proper reason no refugee can be sent out of Canada. Hence many SriLankan Tamils acquired an opportunity to settle in Canada. A majority of Indian Tamils are employed in Canadian Universities and are also working as Computer Programmers. Two years ago the Canadian Government gave permission to SriLankans to sponsor their brothers, sisters and parents to visit and settle in Canada. Today only wife or husband and children below sixteen years alone may be sponsored. Former 98 percent ie former SriLankan refugees have been permitted to become citizens. Probably today between 90,000 to one lakh are living in Canada. Unemployment, refugees allowances economic crisis have resulted in lessening the opportunities for migration to Canada. In addition In SriLanka Visa is refused to sponsored brothers. The present Liberal Party's policy is to give preference in giving Visa to those who conrtibute to the development and prosperity of Canada. Every year 2.50,000 could be permitted to enter Canada. Inspite of this only 90 percent alone are given such permissions. Further 1,14,000 are leaving Canada every year. A majority of these are retired elders.

Thus within a short period of five or six years Tamil Community has progressed well in many spheres. This is also partly due to Canadian Government's policy. The Canadian Government gives right to every citizen to protect and promote his or her own language, religion and culture. It has also reserved certain funds for this purpose. A Multi-cultural Ministry also plays role in shaping this ideal. In addition projects are sponsored to promote unity, good will and solidarity among all sections and among all races. Since all are living in the same enviornment all protection is extended to live respecting each others language, religion and culture. In fact the Government does not miss even a single oppor-

tunity to promote mutual toleration and mutual self-respect.

A majority of Tamils 75-80 percent live in Ontario. Rest live in Quebec and British Columbia. Especially in Ontario in skaporo plenty of Tamils live. Hence here Tamils don't feel they are living in an alien enviornment.

During the last five years in Ontario Tamil news paper containing commercial advertisements are sold in Ontario. In 1994 this contained 12 pages with an attractive printing. 10,000 copies are printed. It is distributed freely. For printing this money is collected from the advertisements given in the paper. As per its report till 1993 November 516 Commercial firms function in Ontario. In addition 45 provision stores, Auditors 28, Saree and cloth shops 28, Video shops 23, eating shops 17, Jewellers 15, Law firms 22, Cardriving teaching 15 are also there. From these you can under stand that number of marriages are celebrated and majority of them are celebrated in summer. In fact there were occasions when even 24 marriages had taken place. The pundits have busy work. Many pundits are owning Marriage bureaus, Hence they live with enough wealth and comfort.

Further in these shops we can get all goods, not only these coming from SriLanka and India but also from other Countries Vegetables such as drumsticks, brinjal, lady's finger, greens, pumpkins and snake gourd are brought by plane from Jamaica and other Caribbean islands. Hence Tamils are able to cook Tamil food. Sea food and mutton are avilable in plenty. There are no restrictions too. Hence people can buy goods in plenty.

Recently two T.V. Tamil programmes have been introduced. They are telecast only on saturdays and sundays for half

an hour. In Toronto 8 Tamil programmes are broadcast over Radio. Each programme is for the duration of one hour. Discussions, cinema songs are broadcast. Now steps. have been taken to double the Tamil broadcasting. Since Computer is handy several Tamil journals are published Suriyan, Manjari, Ezha Nadu, Ulaga Tamizar Thayagam are weeklies. Roja, Tamizhar Tagaval, Pothigai, Manavar Murasu, Sandippu are monthlies; of these Sooriyan and Ulaga Tamizhar Tagaval are distributed freely. These totally depend on advertisements and are successful. In Toronto alone ten Tamil Journals are published. Toronto could be described as a small Jaffna.

During summerdays in Toronto we can see two or three Cultural programmes. Old students Associations, cultural organisations, Fand Raising organisations vie with one another in conducting these programmes. During Saturdays and Sundays on the sameday at the sametime in different places we can see two or three Tamil cultural programmes. Entrance is by ticket system for which you pay. Cinema songs and music programmes are more popular. During this time artists are in greater demand. In addition Bharata Natya Aranketram too are organised spending several thousand dollars. In between South Indian cinema artists,play back singers come often and go back with huge fortune. This kind of festive mood we can come across in Toronto for four or five months.

We also come across dance Schools, music classes, violin Veena, Mrindangam, Flute teachings Schools in plenty. Parents with lot of interest take their children to these Schools on saturdays and sundays. There is Competion for quick dance Aranketram. All dance masters cannot be considered as experts and talented. But in Canada they are respected and are in demand. Many SriLankan Tamil artists who have worked for many years in SriLanka are also working in Ca-

nada. SriLanka Radio artists, programme announcers and producers are also working here creditably. This kind of awareness deserve our support and appreciation and the provincial Governments extend also financial help to such Cultural programmes.

In 1985 a Vinayaka temple was established in a Mobile Home. Today we see it with sky touching Gopuras. Four lakhs dollars were spent to build this temple within six years. And the money was collected from the Saivities living in Canada. We also see a Kandaswami temple and Durgai Amman Temple. Usually during weekends people vist these temples in large numbers. Recently an Iyappan temple was built. On the whole there are around six or seven temples. Vat Morin is the location of the Subramanyam-Ayappa temple built at secluded mountains, located some fify miles north of Montreal over two thousand devoetes attended the inaugural ceremony. It was the last project under taken by Swami Vishnu Devanand popularly known as flying Swami. The yoga camp is situated on two hundred and fifty acres in Quebec's Laurentian mountain range.

South Indian play back singers especially Jesudas and Balasubramaniyan played a key role through their performances in collecting money for the Vinayagar Temple.

In Toronto city itself more than thirty Tamil Sangams are there. The most important is World Tamil organisation. Canadian Tamil Sangam is a part of this organi sation and has played a keyrole for the past fifteen years. It extends help to those who apply for the refugee status. Translation of documents, English classes, computer Cultural classes employment bureau, cruche etc. are looked after bythree institutions of this organisation. Approximately 30 people are permanently employed. Ontario Government keeps them by giving them 3 millions dollars per year. In fact 29 such

Sangams are functioning. For all these we get Canadian Government aid. But we get reports that some are misusing their opportunity. Still many dedicated to Social welfare are associated with these organisations.

A Tamil college, a part of World Tamil organisation, is teaching Tamil culture, music, dance and musical instruments. Fifty part time Teachers are working in this college. And it is functioning satisfactorily. Hence it has made an encouraging beginning. In addition Tamil music kala manram too conduct musical competitions. However it must be stated these are taught to students of the teachers who don't know Tamil. Hence majority of these teachers give these lessons in English and adjust with them. This situation should change. Inspite of this Tamil language education is progressing rapidly in Canada. Many students are coming forword to learn Tamil and speak Tamil. Tamil sangams too conduct debates, poem, essay competion and through such methods inspired both the parents and students to learn Tamil.

Tamils in the Caribbean

Caribbean is near the United States of America and Latin America. The important countries which are in the Caribbean are Trinidad and Tobogo, Guyana, Surinam, Jamaica, Grenada, Guadeloupe, Martinique etc. Trinidad and Tobago is a federation of two islands close to Venezuela's coast. The co-operative republic of Guyana lies in the mainland of South America between Venezuela to the west, Surinam to the East and Brazil to the South. Surinam, known as Dutch Guyana is a close neighbour of Brazil and Guyana, Geographically close to Cuba. Jamaica is the third largest island in the Caribbean.

Caribbean-Tamilnadu Relations History

We have no evidence relating to Tamil migration to the Caribbean before the 19th century. Tamil immigration to these areas began in the middle of the 19th century. Between 1500 and 1834 African slaves were brought to the Caribbean and they worked in the Coffee, Tea and Sugarcane plantations of the Europeans. After the abolition of slavery in 1834, the emancipated African slaves had already moved away from the plantations.

Tamils: Alternate Supply of Labour

Hence these colonies were faced with the prospect of a breakdown in the supply of labour. As such, an alternative source of supply was explored. The labour was initially brought from China and Portuguese colonies to in these plantations. As the experiment did not prove successful, India appeared as a logical source because of the contacts that

many of the British planters in the West Indies had with the Indian Empire. It was around this time Indian labourers had been migrating to Mauritius and hence the Europeans believed that cheap labour was available in India. Moreover Indian labourers were also known for their hard work.

Arrival of Tamils: 1838

Indians including Tamil first arrived in Guvana in 1838. In Trinidad they began to arrive in 1845. In Surinam, the only Dutch colony on the South American island, in 1873, with the permission of the British Government, the first lot of Indian workers arrived. Around the same time they also landed in Jamaica. For example in Guyana John Gladstone, the owner of two plantations, with the help of Lord Grenelg, the Secretary of the British Guyana Colony, began to recruit Indian labourers. As a result the first Indian indentured labourers totalling around 156 on May5, 1838 boarded a ship known as Hesperus and came to Guyana. In the same month another batch of 263 Indian labourere boarded Whitby ship and came to Guyana.

Gladstone sent the labourers brought by the ship Hesperus to Vreed-en Hoop Vriedestein plantations on the banks of Demerara river and to Anna Regina plantations on the banks of Essequibo river. The labourers brought by whitby ship were sent to Belle Vue in Demerara and to Highbury and Waterloo plantations on the banks of Essequibo river. Indian labourers who started coming to Guyana in 1838 continued to migrate till 1918, when their migration stopped.

During these 80 years the Indian labourers who arrived were sent to Trinidad, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Surinam. Between 1838 and 1937,2,38,978 Indians came to Guyana.

In Trinidad. Indian Arrival Day is gaining prominence. The day is set aside for the celebrations of the arrival of the first Indians aboard 'Fatel Rozak' at the Port of Spain harbour on May 30, 1845. This day was first observed in 1978, when a small group of Indians from Sanjuan and Curape established the first Indian arrival day celebrations The observance of Indian Arrival day has grown into a full-fledged national celebration as a tribute to the first Indian pioneers who set foot on Trinidadian soil. In Trinidad indenturship was however legally abolished in 1920.

After the abolition of slavery in 1834, the emancipated slaves had already moved away from the plantations in Jamaica. The ex-slaves squatted, leased or bought almost all the available lands, raised their own crops and estabilshed their own business. The ensuing labour shortage was alleviated temporarily by importing cheap European labourers who were not suitable for the task; attention was then turned to India since the Indians had already salvaged the economy of Guyana, Trinidad and other colonies around the world.

Arrival in Jamaica

On May 9, 1845 the first group of Indian indentured labourers consisting of 200 males, 28 females and 16 minors arrived at old Harbour, St. Catherine, Jamaica. During the next four years, the number of immigrants increased to 4,550. However due to drought and general economic depression in the island, the ex-slaves again sought employment in the plantations. Consequently, Only 452 Indians were contracted between 1850-1854 after which the scheme was suspended for five years. The immigration laws were amended in 1858, guaranteeing implementation of certain terms of contract hitherto unobserved, and indentureship was res-

umed in 1860. Between 1845 and 1917 (When the indentureship was abandoned due to pressure from the Indian National Congress) a total of 35,412 Indians came to Jamaica while 11,880 (32.63%) returned to India.

Import of Indian Labourers by Surinam

Since the abolition of slavery in the British Colonies, it became increasingly clear for the Dutch in Srinam that if they did not follow suit they might be crushed by the free competition in sugar production. For the free colonies were able to produce cheaper sugar, thanks to the abolition of costly slave labour.

Although slave labour was not profitable for the planters and those who lived off them neither was free labour. The abundance of land for free labourers and rise of the non-agricultural sector (gold digging and later on rubber production) made it impossible for the planters to rely on the ex-slaves. However some ten years before the abolition of slavery in Surinam the planters began to experiment with another form of labour organization. In 1853 the import of indentured labourers from China and Madeira began. But only since 1873, after a ten year period of apprenticeship, a mass import of indentured labourers-now from British India-took shape.

Between 1853 and 1939 the Duth Colony imported more than 74,000 contract labourers one percent from Portuguese Madeira, 3 percent from China, 4 percent from other West Indian colonies, 46 percent from British India and 44 percent from Indonesia (Java). One third of the British Indians and more than 20 percent of the Javanese returned to their Country. The influnx of labourers from British India

stopped in 1916, but import from Java, which started in 1890 continued until 1939.

Grenada Sugar Plantations Attract Indians

After Negro Emancipation in the West Indies, planters had profited in varying degrees by the importation of East Indian indentured labourers to fill the void created in the labour force. Learning of their success the Grenadian Planters were soon eager to obtain Indian workers for their sugar plantations. After certain modifications to the proposed labour ordinances for the territories, emigration was legalised for Grenada in 1856 and St. Lucia in 1858.

By 1856 the sugar economy was already on the decline with 477 estates abandoned and 9 others on the verge of collapse. The first batch of immigrant labourers arrived at Gouyave Bay on May 1st, 1887 on the ship *Maidstone* with 289 passengers 56 people having died on the voyage. In 1858, *Fulwood* landed with 362 live workers and in 1859 *Jalawar* brought 249. The last ship brought 172 East Indians to Grenada between 1881-85. Between 1856 and 1878, 3,033 East Indians were brought into the island, these numbers falling short of actual demand. Between 1857 and 1917 an approximate number of 2,750 Indian landed in the Wind-ward island of Grenada. Though their arduous labour restored several abandoned sugar estates, their numbers were too small to make a dramatic change on the population or the economy. With time, some British managers found that the cultivation of Cocoa and nutmegs was more profitable and by 1880 the conversion was complete.

Those Indian labourers who migrated to Caribbean entered into a five year contract with their employers. If required, it could be extended to another five years, according

to the terms of contract. The immigrants came mostly from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, some of them later on from the southern part of India. However on their arrival, they were dispersed in different parts of the Caribbean.

Life in the Plantations : Hard Conditions

On arrival in Jamaica, the Indians were sent in batches of 20 to 40 to far-out plantations, where they lived in barracks segregated from those of the Africans. Each batch was headed by a *Sardar* or headman, who looked after the general welfare of his colleagues, while ensuring the implemention of instructions from the employers. The work was hard and long, 8-9 hours a day for six days a week. Invisible sickness such as aches, sprains or fever were not accepted as excuses for absence. Mobility out of the plantations was restricted by a permit, valid only for a week end.

It was a general rule in the Colony of Surinam that Coolie Labour was not to be used outside the plantation sector. Infact it was forbidden for the contract - labourers to work in rubber and gold production. Life on the plantation was very hard. The workers on the Cocoa platntations were better off than the workers at the sugar plantation. Especially during harvest time then the cane had to be cut and manufactured into sugar, the workers had to put and more hours of work and for a longer period of time. The social position of the coolie was not only expressed in the lower wages that they received, but also in the hard housing condition and medical care. Most coolies lived in the old slave barracks. These were often not even rebuilt to accommodate the new immigrants, Because many barracks were situatednear swamp areas and marshy lands - especially in the first two decades of the immigration period - disease sometimes took epidemic proportions.

Indian coolies in Grenada also lived in poor conditions. The condition of the Indian immigrants on these estates occupied much public attention in 1867. The health of those located on Mount Alexander and other estates was very bad and the mortality rate, particularly on Mount Alexander excessive. On inspection, the Governor of the Windward islands found that the cause of the employers' neglect for the workers was the depressed state of the economy. As a result, the majority of the 2000, Indians imported some years before, were abandoned to fate, "Kicked off the estates" and allowed to die of *Yaws* and other diseases, conditions deteriorated on the *Beause' Jour* and *La Fortune* estates, the latter having indentured labourers looking "*like grinning skeletons*". It was necessary to employ some of them on public works and to transfer others to Demerara after the authorities intervened. Indentured immigration came to an end for Grenada in 1885 with the majority of Indians opting for possession of land rather than the free return passage entitled to them after 10 years of service.

Exploitation under the white planter Duncan in Martan Estate and in Belevedere and Mt. Felix mutmeg-cocoa-and banana estates taught the Indians the advantage of owning their own plots of land and dirty houses which most of them had by 1889, though the land given to them were thickly forested with guava and bamboo. High prices for cocoa and mutmeg during world war II had made estates a good investment and some of them were bought by foreigners and wealthy local East Indians.

Population

Those Tamils and other Indians and Indonesians who migrated and settled in the Caribbean were described by the locals in these islands as East Indians.

Guyana

E.S. Viswananthan says:- Between 1838 and 1917, 2,38, 979 Indians came to Guyana. But we don't have evidence at present to point out the number of Tamilians who came from Madras during this time. Still it must be clarified between 1845 and 1862 those who came from Tamilnadu must have been in sizable number. Between 1845 and 1848 out of 45 ships which brought the indentured labourers to Guyana, 21 ships came from Madras. Further it has been estimated that between 1845 and 1862 among the total number of Indians who came to Guyana 50 percent were Madrassis (Tamils). Hence during this preiod approximately around one lakh *Madrassis* must have come to Guyana. It appears from 1860 onwards there was decline in the trend of Tamil immigration to Guyana. According to a Report published in 1874 out of the total number of Indians who came to Guyana, 44,000 came from Calcutta and 2,500 came from Madras. Hence, it indicates, the declining trend of the Tamil migration during this period. Again there was a sizable increase in the migration of Tamils to Guyana between 1913 and 1917. According to Leslie Potter the number of East Indians who returned to India before the end of 1921 were 60,970. From the list of names we can guess that a majority of them came from the Madras Presidency.

Those Tamils who are living in Guyana today may be divided into two groups (1) Except those who returned to India before 1921, the descendants of the remaining 1500 Tamil-Telugu immigrants living in Guyana (2) The descendants of those *Madrassis* who came between 1913 and 1917. Together their total population (Tamil population), according to Viswanathan, may not be more than 80,000. These Tamils work in sugarcane plantations, paddy fields and citi-

es adjacent to the four rivers of Guyana. The cities, towns and villages where they live lie between these four rivers. Today Tamils live in more than sixty towns and cities. In some of them only a few families live. They live in Gangaram Albion, Hambshire, Williamburg, Rose Hall, Whim, Port Mourant, Belvedre in Corentyne city, Lenora. Stewartville in Demarara West Coast, Herstelling, Enmore, Mongony in Demarara East Coast Of these places only Gangaram has an Indian name.

Trinidad

Trinidad and Tobago's total population is 12,00,000 and of which the people of Indian descent are about 6,20,000. The ethnic groups, the descendants of African slaves and East Indian indentured labourers, comprise 83 percent of the population. The east Indian population are in definite majority. By the time when almost half of the Indian population were Trinidad born, the East Indians began to assert themselves so as to secure a rightful place in their adopted country. *Madrassis* quarters are there near Bearco Airport especially since 1916. Most of the Tamils live in Waterloo area.

Jamaica

Jamaica island's population is around 22 lakhs, the majority of them are blacks. In this multi-racial society the East Indians are the largest ethnic minority comprising about 3.5 percent of the national population (i.e. 50,000). The Indian cultural heritage in Jamaica was derived from the predominantly Hindu villages in Easter Uttar Pradesh and Bihar since 72 percent of the 36,412 Indians, who came to Jamaica between 1845-1917 period were from these areas and most of the rest were also from the adjoining areas of North India. Hence the number of immigrant Tamils were few. Many of these Tamils work in banana plantations.

Surinam

Surinam's total population is 4,00,000. Of these, people of the Indian descent constitute about 1,42,000. In 1921 out of a population of 1,12,300, 50 percent was Creole, 28 percent was Indian and 17 percent was Javanese. In 1939, the corresponding figures were 45 percent, 29 percent and 21 percent out of a total population of 1,56,000. But after indentureship the different ethnic groups concentrated in specific districts, so that each district was ethnically defined. In 1939, district Marowijne (2 percent of the total population) and the coconut producing district Coronie (3 percent) were for over 90 percent populated by Creoles The population of the main city Paramaribo (35 percent) was made up of 79 percent Creoles, 10 percent Indians and 2 percent Javanese. Commewijne (16 percent) was overwhelmingly Javanese (67 percent against 18 percent Indian and 13 percent Creole). Saramacca (6 percent) was more Indian (49 percent) against 23 percent Creole and 20 percent Javanese) as was Nickerie (10 percent of the total population) 49 percent Indian, 27 percent Creole and 20 percent Javanese. We do not have details about the percentage of Tamil population.

Grenada

Grenada's total population is 1,10,000 and of these Indians are 15,000. Some of them went to work in the Panama Canal in the first quarter of the twenteith centurry. Others sought employment in Brazil during the same period. The motivation for migration of Indo-Grenadians to Aruba, Canada, USA, England and Trinidad is similar to that of all Indians generically. They seek a better social and economic environment ih which they hope that theira spirations can be fulfilled. Today Indians are dispersed throughout the island,

but certain villages like Forde, St. James, Samaritan, Chumma, Grand Bacolet, Florida and Gouyave hold high concentration of them.

Tamil Culture and Religion

Guyana:- In Guyana Indians constitute 53 percent of the country's population. Out of them about 60 percent follow Hindu religion; 30 percent are Muslimes and the remaining 10 percent are Chirstians. There ar more than 300 *Mandirs* (Hindu temples) and Masjids all over the country.

Kalimai Worship Popular

South Indians in Guyana are called as *Madrassis.* A majority of these South Indians are Hindus, but christians constitute 35 percent of the South Indian population. Most of the Tamils do not belong to the upper castes. The majority of the South Indian immigrants were drawn from the lower castes and worshipped among other deities Mariamma or Kali Mai. There are several myths of the origin, power, function and relationships of Kali Mai. She and her sentinel Madurai veern-hero of Madurai-have played prominent parts in South Indian Mythology and folklore and held in great esteem in the folk traditions.

The practice of Kali Mai worship waned and reached its lowest ebb during 1950's and the early 1960's. On almost every estate having a significant number of *Madrassis* there used to be held the annual *Grama* or *Gauwpuja* Village worship. There were not elaborate temple structures and only a few estates had a mere small temple housing the *Murtees*-images of the deities. At these annual ceremonies make shift tents were erected from materials borrowed from the estate and the images of the deities were often made of clay and

decorated, only to be lowered into the water after the ceremony. Further only at the annual ceremony did the *pujaries* become possessed of the deities and people who had any spiritual or physical malady were attended to by the deities working through the medium of a priest. During the year devotees offered prayers at their personal alters in their homes or at the few communal *Koeloos* (churches) which had been in existence. The Tamil temples are described as churches by the local Tamils.

However, between the 1940's and early 1960's there was a marked decline in the number of areas where annnal *pujas* were held and in the number of people interested in such activities. The only area of continued activity had been the Corentyne coast - the Albion - Port Mourant area to be more specific - and hundreds of *Madrassis* made annual pilgrimage to these churches.

The ceremonies were at first conducted only by *Madrassis* and the *non Madrassis* were involved only as patients who wished to be cured of whatever malady they had or to gain a solution to some pressing problem. During this time also all churches practised life sacrifices.

In Demerara, there were only four church communities. However a number of individuals had their family altars and a few of these held annual *pujas* to which they invited the public. No *Koeloo* is recorded to have existed during this period in the country of Essequibo. In the Berbice area, there was less than one half the number of *Koeloos* now in existence and several of the known ones were more extended family *Koeloos*. In these *Koeloos* and at the ceremonies, everything was done in the orthodox Tamil manner by the *Madrassis*. It was the propagation of their culture and religious form.

Sacrifices Ritual Changing

Dennis W.M Z. Bassier says: "The general public frowned upon the religious activities of the *Madrassis* claiming them to be a form of devil-worship and the gruesome chopping off of the animals heads or the biting off of the head of a fowl or cock and the drinking of blood were indeed uncivilized. Very few people took time off to investigate and understand the symbolism behind these seemingly savage acts.

I make the point that within the past decade and a half atleast four very important changes, and a number of less important ones have taken place.

(1) There has been a marked resurgence in Kali Mai activities and the number of community churches have increased almost three times.

(2) Many of the rituals have been modified, some dropped while new ones have been included.

(3) People from varied cultural, ethnic and racial backgrounds, but particularly working class folks-poorfolks-have been and are attracted to the church in increasing numbers, not as mere observers or patients, but as active participants.

(4) Communal worship is now a weekly activity and the number of people becoming possessed is phenomenal.

In the Demerara area, for instance, investigations revealed that there used to be only two churches while in four areas the Madras community held annual *pujas*. Currently

there are no fewer than sixteen established churches, all of which hold regular weekly *pujas*. All of these are permanent structures and a number of them are beautifully constructed concrete structures. Two have sprung up in the Essequibo area during the past two years (around 1985).

Many of these churches had originally been no more than family altars but as the demands on the individuals became greater from members of their respective communities and as these individuals became increasingly committed to, and convinced in the cause, so the number of *Koeloos* increased. In other situations, individuals who had been attending *Koeloos* some distance from their homes and who after a period of apprenticeship, felt themselves capable of running a *Koeloo* in the community for the benefit of members of the community, did so set up themselves: first a family altar in the home: next a small *koeloo/mandir* in the yard, then, if he was successful and he got a following, a tent was thrown over or around the *Koeloo* and after sufficient funds had been raised, a more attractive and permanent structure was erected.

In relation to the rituals, several modifications have taken place. There is now a non-killing group and atleast seven *Koeloos* follow this order. Even within a *Koeloo* where there is life sacrifice there are two sections referred to by the *Permal Koeloo* and *Mariamman Koeloo*. The *Permal Koeloo* houses those deities associated with the traditional orthodox Hinduism and consequently a Hindu who so desires may come to the *Koeloo* and conduct his devotions to the same *Devies* and *Dewatas* which are found in orthodox Hindu churches. As many of these Koeloos expand, so too does the number of *Murtees* increase to satisfy the needs of every one.

Koeloos Extremely Popular

Whereas, formerly all communication was in Tamil, now increasingly there is the tendency to use Hindi and English also as media of expression. Only a small number of the long established churches place emphasis on communication in Tamil. Yet, even in these *koeloos* English translation is also given. In all *Koeloos* there are *Kirtan* groups and *Bhajans* are sung in Tamil and Hindi. Generally '*Mudda*' is all powerful and all kowing and can understand and communicate in any language. Several *koeloos* use only English and Hindi. A very striking change is the fact that there are five *Koeloos* which are headed by the traditionalists (in Guyana). In the orthodox *Koeloos* females were debarred from entering. They went as faras the door and their offerings were handed to an assistant. They were not allowed to 'perform' within the *koeloo* but in the yard. Now this has changed and women are to be found in every role, except, so far, as immolator, Offerings range from a simple flower to fruits, cooked meals and animals-fowls andor goat. Trinidad sheep are also offered. There are also offerings in the form of cash, camphor and incense.

There is no longer the feat of walking on Fire or 'the Fire pass' as it was called. The more common ways of proving supernatural or superhuman powers are by being horsewhipped on the arm without showing any signs of pain or of injury to the body. and/or taking fireplacing a lighted camphor in the opened mouth until it goes out.

Weekly Pujas

It must be pointed out that the weekly *pujas* are in many ways quite different from the annual or the semi annual Gauw pujas.

Increasingly, people from a wide cross-section of the society are attracted to *Kalipuja*. Attend any sunday *puja* and one would never fail to find a large number of individuals who accompany relatives or friends who may be ill or who may have gone to offer their devotions. Many others may have problems and are in need of assistance. Yet other attend out of curiosity of it may be a chance to be away from the drudgery of daily chores and to experience a watered down form of liminality.

Any scan at the audience, officials and the devotees. will reveal people of different/racial and ethnic groups. An increasing number of blacks are joining these *Koeloos*. Some join because of illness. Others claim that there is a marked similarity between this and their ancestral form of worship. One lady told Dennis W.M.Z. Bassier that the drum the dance and the spirit possession were integral parts of their African form of worship. Another claimed that the Biblical quote: "Thous shall worship me in spirit and in Truth" (Matthew 4, 10) was to be interpreted in terms of what was practised in these *koeloos*. It is not difficult to identify people of Christian, Hindu, 'African' and Muslim religious attending these *Koeloos*. The practioners are not restricted to *Madrassis* to Hindus or (C) Men. The Kali church in Guyana, seems to be a new melting pot. People get together under the umbrella of the great Mother and in their different capacities or roles endeavour to make life more meaningful for each other. Rose Hall Amman Church in Corentyne is run by an African devotee. In Herstelling Kali church a Muslim with Bhakti gives predictions and directives possessed by Kali.

Most of these churches conduct weekly *pujas*. The entire sunday of each week is set aside for *puja* activities. It is not unusual for people to travel fifty miles every sunday to at-

tend *puja*. The ceremonies run from about 9.30. A.M. about 5 P.M. The principal features are:

(a) individual offerings and devotions

(b) Congregational offerings and devotions

(e Sacrifices-if done

(d) Diagnosis of the sick and particular healing rituals.

Other important aspects are: the preparation of offerings and garlands, sharing of the offerings after the *puja* and the singing of *Bhajans* by the *Kirtan* group during most intervals.

Dennis W.M.Z. Bassier remarks: "I think a case has been partially made that the recent upsurge in Kali worship is not a mere effort to revive traditions. It is not a Revival or a Nativistic movement. Significant number of devotees are not *Madrassis* and some are not Indians. Further, converts are won in a special way. There is no crusading activity. Many *non-Madrassis* visit the church or the *pujaree* because of any number of a wide range of problems ranging from insomnia, dermatological problems, inability to have children, incurable infections, marital and domestic problems the desire to secure employment or to be successful, to guard one self against evil doers, to a state of prolonged physical impairment or acute psychosis.

These defects are all interpreted in traditional cultural idioms and likewise, traditional cultural forms of remedy are applied. The average person is 'Jarayed' and asked to attend the church services for 5,7 or 9 weeks and to make offerings and to pray to a particular deity. For the annual of the Semi annual *puja* even very poor, suffering people spend

money ranging from seventy five to two hundred dollars to purchase goats to offer as sacrifice. Other additional directives may be given". Prof. Viswanathan of Guyana adds the following information regarding Tamil religion in Guyana. May persons who claim to have gained help in what ever form. continue to attend regularly and to testify to others of the benefits they derived from 'The Mudda'. (Dennis W.M.Z. Bassier, 1987, 269-293).

Hindu Church : A Description

Like the Christians, the Tamil of Guyana too go to the church on sundays. Even Hindu temples are called as 'church'. Sometimes they call them as "Hindu Church". But these Hindu Churches cannot be compared with the temples of Tamilnadu. Because we cannot see in Guyana temples tall *Gopuras*, stone sculptures, idols, big surrounding walls as we see in the Hindu temples of Tamilnadu. Most of the temples are only slightly bigger than the *puja* rooms in our houses. Instead of installing idols, they have kept pictures of Hindu Gods in the temples for worshipping purposes. In most of the temples we can see Lakshmi, Saraswati, Siva and Venkatesa Perumal's pictures. In some temples along with these pictures decorated claydolls are also kept for worship These temples are like big houses and are there in more than forty towns and cities. They are popularly described as Kali Churches.

Kali Churches in Guyana

Berbice	**Demerara**	**Essequibo**
Corentyne	**East Coast Demarara**	
1) Black Bush Polder	1) Good faith Mahaicony	1) Essequibo coast

2) Rose Hall	2) Huntley	2) Zeelugt East Bank Essequibo.
3) Rose Hall Church (Run by blacks)	3) Cane Crove	
4) No 43 village	4) Mon Repus Squatting area	
5) Letter Kenny	5) Lusignan	
6) Whim	6) Triumph (Agriculture Dam)	
7) Hampshire	7) Triump: Miller St.	
8) Nig Settlement	8) Better Hope (Dora)	
9) Bloomfied	9) Better Hope (Buddy)	
10) Port Mourant	10) Lilivendaal	
11) Corentyne	11) Kitty	

Corentyne	**East Coast Demarara**
11) Albion	
12) Albion Front	12) Independence Boulevard
13) Misphobi Canje and wept Berbice	13) Greater Georgetown
14) Gangaram (Canje)	14) Eccles
15) Blairmont	15) Grove Squatting Area
16) Cotton Tree (west Berbice)	16) Herstelling
	17) Soesdyke (West Demerara)
	18) Stewartville.

(The list is not complete)

The most important deity in these temples mentioned above is Kali or Mariamman. In addition we can also see Madurai Veeran, Muneswaran and Mayan Perumal, who are also worshipped by the Tamils. In Albion Kali church Suryanarayanjee is also given as important place. In many of these churches *Grama Devatas* are given special importance.

Misphobi, Albion Front in Corentyne, Berbice, Herstelling in Demarara are the oldest temples. Black Bush Polder Kali church in Corentyne, Berbice was built by Kanarai (Kanakaraj); Port Mourant Church was built by Kistin Naidoo (Krishnan Nayudu); Albion churches were built by James Naidoo and Tommy Ramasammy Naidoo, Triumph: Miller St Kali church; in Demarara was built by Jonas John, the two kali churches at Better Hope, Demarara were built by Dora and Buddy; Soesdyke Kali church; West Demerara was built by Dora; Greater George town Kali church in Demarara was built by Sugrim; Grove squatting Area Kali church was built by Benjie and temples at Essequibo were built by John.

Tamil temples can be divided into two groups (1) Kaliamman/Mariamman temples with *Grama Devatas* (2) Kaliamman Mariamman temples with Grama Devatas, Sivan, Perumal, Lakshmi, Saraswati etc. Hindu Gods. The first group of temples are called as *Madrassis* temples and the Second as Hindu temples.

Madras Oriented Vs Non-Madras Oriented Churches

Madras Oriented	Hindu Oriented	General
1) Black Bush Polder-South Mibicuri	1) Cotton Tree	1) Rose Hall Negro Kali)
2) Rose Hall	2) Good Faith	2) Blairmont
3) No 43	3) Mahai Cony	3) Essequibo
4) Letter Kenny	4) Cane Grove	
5) Whim	5) Mon Repos Squatting area	
6) Hampshire	6) Triumph Agri-Dam	
7) Nig Settlement	7) Better Hope-Dora	
8) Bloomfield	8) Better Hope-Buddy	
9) Port Mourant-K-Naidoo	9) Liliendaal	
10) Albion-T. Rams-ammy	10) Eccles	
11) Albion-J. Naidoo	11) Grove-Benjie	
12) Gangaram	12) Soesdyke	
13) Canje Rose Hall	13) Black Bush Polder	
14) Triumph- Jonas	14) North Mibicuri	
15) Ind. Boulevard Greg/Town	15) Zeelugt-west coast	
16) Groue-Bertie	16) Dem	
17) Herstelling		
18) Stewartville		

In these temples Kaliamman is kept in a big room and *Gramadevatas* in separate small, small rooms. If the temple is small all Gods are kept in a high raised platform in the same room. Every week on sundays people visit in large numbers these temples. This is because originally when they came to Guyana to work in the plantations there were only christian churches in those plantations, where people worshipped only on sundays (a holiday). The Hindus who came to Guyana also began to visit their temples, after their establishment, only on sundays. The *Bhaktas* visit the temples carrying *puja* plates. In the *puja* plate they keep fruits like banana, oranges, different kinds of flowers and cocoanut; some of them also keep *vadai*, *sundal*, rice, *kesari* etc (cooked food items).

Prayer and Pujas

Prayer is conducted jointly after the arrival of the *Pujari* (priest). Songs taken from *Mariamman thallattu*, *Silakuttu* (Silambukottu) books are sung with appropriate *talas*. Some time they keep north Indian *Bhajan* songs written in English and sing them. Usually some one will lead while singing songs. He will sing a line and immediately the rest will repeat that in chorus. The same procedure is followed while singing the whole song. Most of the *bhaktas* remember many songs and sing with joy effortlessly these songs.

After the joint-prayer the *pujari* will start doing the puja. Firstly he would keep the flowers brought by the *bhaktas* under the feet of Kaliamman, then he will break the cocoanuts, show *Sambirani Deepa* (burning incense) and burning *Camphor aradhana*. While the *Pujari* is performing *puja* many with devotion will be singing songs. Two of them will beat the drums and one or two will play the temple bells. During

the performance of *puja* to Perumal, conch will be also blown. Possessed by God some people both men and women dance with joy for around fifteen minutes during this *puja* time. After the completion of the *Bhaktas pujas*, another *puja*, a special *puja* will be performed. During that time fire walking ceremony also will be held (But this view point of Viswanathan is not corroborated by Bassier).

As already told these Kali-churches can be divided into Life killing (*Pali-idutal*) and non-life killing churches.

Known Life-Killing churches	**Known non-life killing churches**
1) Albion-Naidoo	1) Port Mourant-Naidoo
2) Albion-Ramsammy	2) Hersteiling
3) Rose Hall	3) Nig Settlement
4) Mon Repos	4) Cotton Tree
5) Mibicuri North B.B.P.	5) Gangaram
6) Ind. Boulevard.	6) Stewartville
7) Grove H. Scheme	7) Liliendad
8) Grove Squatting Area	8) Mibicuri South B.B.P. Joseph Kempadoo
9) Cane Grove	
10) Better-Hope-Dora	
11) Better Hope-Buddy	
12) Soesdyke	
13) Zeelugt	

Many people worship God after the fulfillment of their prayers, in their houses also, where also they perform special *pujas*. Usually such special *pujas* are performed to Siva. Kaliamman, Mariamma, Madurai Veeran, Surya Narayanan and Hanumanjee. After the preformance of the special *puja* flag belonging to that God worshipped will be hoisted in a corner of a wall in the house; Red flag for Hannman,white flag for Suryanarayanjee, Yellow flag for Ambal and Madurai Veeran, Yellow or red flag to Marrinmman, Greenflag for Siva, Black flag for Kali. This flag worship habit was learnt by Tamils from the Biharis living in Guyana. Tamils also celebrate *Kalipuja* grandly like the Bengalies.

In the plantations churches christian propaganda activists were there. Some of the Tamils were converted by them to Christsanity, especially after they started visiting christian churches on sundays. Some of them during course of time were reconverted as Hindus again. A majority of the Madrassis of course are Hindus, but approximately 35 percent of them are christians. (E S. Viswanathan: 1987:160-184)

Jamaica : Religious Activities

For religious functions and cultural recreational activities the Indians were confined to their own plantations. Only the Hosay (Moharram) procession used to be interplantation affair.

Most Indians would take an early morning bath and offer prayers to the sun as a manifestation of the creator. With changes in the religious trends and attitude of the Indans over the past forty years or so this exercise is hardly seen. Usually the children went to the mothers and listened to bed-time Ramayana, Mahabharate and other Mythological, Historical and Social stories from India.

Hindu Ceremonies

Since all but about ten percent immigrants to Jamaica were Hindus, several purificatory rites or *Samskars* were practised religiously by the Indian. Among them were the *Chatii or Barhi* (6th or 12th day ceremony after birth), *Mundan* (tonsure), Vivah (marriage). Hindu-funeral, the after-death ceremonies and the death anniversary.

Since the highest infant mortality around the world occurs within the first six days of birth, *Chatti* (6th day) or *Barhi* (12th day) has been a big thanks giving occasion for the family. The ceremony starts with bathing of the mother and child in "disinfectant water boiled earlier with some leaves of medicinal value *Neem* or *Margosa* leaves in India) and dressing them up in new clothes, for the baby it is the first set of new garment, A special eye ointment called *Kajal* (obtained by collecting soot from the wick of a lamp burning ghee or clarified butter) is applied by an aunt on the inside of the eyelids of the new born, the *Bua* (father's sister or cousin) receiving a gift inturn. The ladies would sing *Sohar* (special songs for welcoming and blessing the baby) all day except when interrupted by prayer ceremonies Dinner-music, dance and showers for the baby and the mother completed the festivity. Earlier *Chatti* or *Barhi* was obseve a by all the Indians but since the 1920s christian Indians have been gradually disassociating themselves from such activities. During the past decades many Hindus with religious convictions and non-Hindus with awarness or their Cultural heritage observe the occasion.

The *Mundan* or shaving of the head within a year of birth or on the second birthday was a fairly common practice until the first quarter of the century, but only a few

Jamaican families now follow the tradition. The festivity involved prayers, dinner, music, dances and masquerading.

Marriage

Marriages in an Indian Society is still the most important and usually most expensive ceremony for Hindu parents. It is the last *Samskar* (sacrament'. Hindu weddings, which are now not more than a dozen per year, are performed at the girls residence, and are similar in ceremonies and details to those in India. Many Hindus, Muslims and all the Christians prefer to marry in western style and to go to various churches; several other, particularly in the rural areas and ghettos, enter into the typically Jamaican common law and 'visiting' relationships. All the rural and most urban wedding ceremonies end with a community dinner and musical entertainment.

Funeral Practices

The funeral and burial practices have also changed from simple and inexpensive Indian ways to rather elaborate and expensive western styles. In India Hindus dispose the mortal remains by cremation, immersion in rivers or in the sea or occasional burial, while Muslims always bury their dead. In Jamaica cremation facilities were not available until the late 1950's or early 1960's after the East Indian progressive society succeeded in having the burial laws changed and facilities provided. Earlier (up to about 1950, devoted Hindus immersed the bodies in lead coffins in deep sea while others would bury the dead in the properties or public) cemetries. These days, though cremation facilities are available Indians bury their dead, often in expensive coffins beyond their pockets. If the deceased was a Hindu or Muslim the body lies in state at the home before the funeral; the fun-

eral prayers are according to Hindu or Muslim rites but the entire atmosphere, including the mourners dresses is absolutely western.

The Hindus mourn their dead for 13 days and the Muslims for 40 days, during that period incense may be burnt for whole days and nights or only at nights and prayers are held daily. Many Indian Christians follow the Hindu system but call it "wake" on the final day of mourning the traditional festive atmosphere is recreated by holding mass prayers, followed by in Indian community dinner and musical concert.

Decline of Hindu Population in Jamaica

The number of Hindus and Muslims started to decline in Jamaica since about 1880, when Christian missionaries became active among the Indian population in Portland and West moreland. Still over 80 percent of the 26 000 Indian immigrants who stayed back in Jamaica after the indentureship scheme was abolished in 1917, were probably Hindus. However their numbers were reduced to 4.043 in 1943 and 1,181 in 1961. Today the number of practising Hindus and Muslims in Jamaica is probably not more than 520 respectively. The decline of Hinduism and Islam in Jamaica is more a reflection of the inhernt weakness among the Indians, particularly the priests and social leaders, rather than strong pressure from the Christian missionaries, school curriculum and offical social attitudes. Ofcourse the temptations of better medical care, education, job and business opportunities and social status were often just too much for many to resist.

Well Organised Christian Missionary Activities

In Jamaica the faith and culture of the Indians was subjected to pressure from well-organized, well financed and

well-educated Christian missionaries with fullbacking from the society and the government Moreover, various social interactions and education, increase the spiritual, philosophical and emotional thirst of Hindu masses but the insular Hindu priests never rose beyond the pre Dravidian Indians. The present local popularity of the Hindu oriented International organisations such as Anand Marg. Transcendental Meditation and Divine Light Society revealp the widegap that existed between the knowledge of the Hindu priests and the popular demands.

The theologically thirsty Hindu masses held on till they lived in closed plantation communities. However, as they dispersed for better economic opportunities, and became exposed to greater christian propaganda, they succumbed due to their own lack of theological and philosophical knowledge and background since the Hindu priests themselves knew nothing better, the allegation that Hinduism is primitive and pagan convinced the shaky Hindus, who indeed used logic and reasoning in changing their religion. Moreover the compulsory teaching of the Bible in Jamaican schools without even a word of protest from the Hindu priests and in the absence of any move by the Hindu leaders to counteract the false propaganda or impressions, has been confounding and confusing the Hindu children.

Hindus in Search of Economic Opportunities only

The Hindus, including the priests, never lost sight of the fact that they came to Jamaica to earn money and not for the preservation and propagation of Hinduism or Indian culture. The Brahmin immigrants became priests because there was opportunity for them to exploit the religious sentiments of the Hindus and become rich without any risk or hardwork. They had little dedication to their profession and

abandoned their congregation whenever some better economic opportunities appeared elsewhere. This was perhaps, the most important consideration of the Hindu priests in migrating to Kingston from the countryside in the 1920s and 19-0s.

The lack of honest dedication to their faith and profession in the Hindu priests of Jamaica is best reflected by the fact that though they amassed considerable personal fortunes by being priests, they did not build even a single temple in the island. Even the prominent priest Dhanak Dhari Mahraj yielded to material temptations by building the queen's theatre on Spanish townroad in Kingston at a site which he had earlier reserved for a temple. This lamentable record of the Jamaican Hindus is in sharp contrast to Guadeloupe where a comparatively small Hindu Community has built several temples.

East Indian Association

The E.I.A. (East Indian Association) founded in 1925 was highly successful in the preservation of Indian Culture among those who still had their faith in the Hindu religion, inspite of the inability of the priest-cum social leaders to prepare their members for the educated future society in which ritualism had to be associated with an understanding of the gospel and philosophy of Hinduism. The activities of the E.I.A. were restricted to (1) holding weekly prayer meetings, (2) occasional schooling of the children in the religion, (3) training some to become future priests, (4) observing various Hindu festivals such as *Ram Naumi*, *Janam Ashtmi*, *Dussehra* *Diwali*, *Kartik* and *Phagwa*. All the functions were held at a

hut built at 48 Spanish town road which was the property of Dhanak Dhari Maharaj, the founder of the E.I.A The E.I.A. faded away in the early 1940s.

Sanatan Dharam Mandir

After the founding of the Sanatan Dharam Mandir (S.D M.) in 1965 for the preservation, promotion and propagation of Hinduism and Indian culture, in 1968 the Government of Jamaica made available a piece of land at 114 Park Road at a concessional price for the purpose of building a temple. The construction of the temple had made little progress until 1973 when B C. Chutkan took over as President and enlisted the support of Ajai and Laxmi Mansingh. Through their combined efforts and with the full cooperation of the Indian community in Jamaica, S.D.M. raised money by holding fabulous stage shows and dinners at Vale Royal on March 29,1975 and February 27,1976 under the patronage of the Deputy Prime Minister David Coore. The temple was eventually completed in 1976 with beautiful doors and windows matching the general architecture.

Chutkan succeeded in getting a free gift of a 3-5 foot high marble idol of Lord Krishna from Mrs. Tara Man Singh and that of Radhji from the late Prakash Vir Shastri, a former member of the Indian Parliament. Through Shastriji's efforts, the idols were sent to Jamaica by the Government of India. However, since Chuttan's departure in 1977, the management has fallen back into the hands of the priests family, the building has started to deteriorate, doors and windows have disappeared and there is hardly any effort to restore them. The S.D.M. has been holding sunday prayer meeting at private homes and calebrating *phagwa* and *Diwali* at the temple premises.

Surinam

In 1940,70 percent of the Indians was Hindu, 20 percent was Muslim and 10 percent was Christian. The christian churches exploited children's homes and arranged for young Indians to study in Paramaribo. Thus they were able to gain some influence among the Indians. Among the Hindus a majority formed the Sanathan Dharma, while a minority of about twenty percent formed the Arya Samaj. The Muslims also had different competing religious groups of which the Soennis (sunnis) were the largest.

Grenada : Christianisation of the Hindus

It was after the period of indentureship in Grenada that the christianisation of East Indian Hindus and Muslims was attempted with great fervour. The presbyterian church was the first to have taken the task upon themselves to "educate", "civilise" and spread "the Truth as it is revealed in the Bible".

The acceptance of the christian faith by the Hindus and Muslims was the major step towards the process of absorption for "religion has always been the care of Indian Culture". The absence of Indian priests (Pandits and Moulvis) in substantial numbers, who would have administered psychological protection to the flock and as forms of social and cultural resistance, made it easier for the persbyterian missionaries to carry out their work of conversion. The process of anglication was total, affecting language as well as names, for example, the name "Lal Beharrysingh" was shortened to "Lalsee" and then "Lal". And the name "Samara" was changed to "Charles".

A *Pandit* by the name of Pariagh who wore *dhoti* (loin cloth) and *Kurta* (long shirt) and who spoke Hindi, English and Patois is known to have existed in Grenada. Informants remember attending *Katha* and *puja* (called 'dinner') in Samaritan and Maran in the 1930s and one after a return from Trinided in 1960 is convinced that she saw a Negro Pandit with *Kanti* locket *phagree* (head gear) and *tikka* (forehead marks) who greeted her in Hindi. A number of Hindi words, songs, episodes from the *Ramayana* can still be recounted by the older heads in the community. It has now become a legend in Grenada how a *Pandit* was able to dip his hand in boiling milk without being burnt and how *moulvi* made a sugar factory collapse by sheer psychic power. Though *Kooteyas* (temple) are known to have existed in the private grounds of individuals. there is not a single community mosque or temple in Grenada today, which indicates the failure of the Indians in Grenada to organise themselves as an ethnic force to combat the onslaught of the Carribean missionaries against their religion and religious beliefs.

Christian conversions of the Hindus and Muslims in Grenada have been made complete by other churches like the Anglican. church of god, Jehovah witnesses. Pentecostals ect. By 1964 Er. Devar noted that there was not a single Hindu or Muslim remaining in Grenada. Today Indians head the christian churches, for example, H.M. Bhola is an Anglican priest and Jonathan Prince Lalsie is the Elder of the Presbyterian Church, though the latter still reads from a Hindi hymn book.

Social and Caste Structure

Guyana: Blurred Caste Distinction

There is no clear cut caste structure among the Tamils in Guyana as in Tamilnadu. However in some Hindu temple

caste distinction is observed. Inspite of this it is not easy to demarcate and distinguish the high caste from the low caste. According to Baskar Naidoo of the Albion Kali church those who have names such as Ramsammy, Venkatchalam, Narayanasammy, Munusammy and Govindasammy belong to higher castes. The rest belong to lower castes. This caste division can be seen much more in Berbice. Rangasammy of another Albion Kali church informed that caste distinction is observed in temple worship and the low castes should stand outside the temples and worship, and observing such practices should not be considered wrong Generally we can study about the coming of Goundars, Naidoos, Nayakars, Udayars (Kuyavarkal), Karaiyalarkal (fishermen) to Guyana.

Jamaica

Panchayats

On the plantations the Indians immediately get up an organised society of their own, a mini-government in panchayat which ensured smooth social life, inter communal and inter-caste relations and family structures and life. A panchayat was elected by the concens us of male folks and usually a Sardar (headman) or the Priest would become the head of the society. Since there were hardly any serious criminal offences in the early days, settlement of petty quarrels and looking after the general welfare of the community including child births, marriages, festivities etc were the responsibilities of the panchayat.

When the post -indentured Indians moved to lease-land settlements on the periphery of the plantations, they established similar panchayats. Often only one panchayat exercised jurisdiction on all the Indians in several settlements on the

plantations. These panchayats were not as strong as the East Indian Village Panchayats in Trinidad and Guyana.

The panchayats in Jamaica started to lose their importance since about the 1930s when the Indians started to migrate from the plantation settlements to wherever better eco nomic opportunities existed. Perhaps the most serious blow to the panchayat system came from the conversion of Indians to Christianity. Though the Panchayat system has faded away, its spirit still lingers on in some old folks. Therefore even now some petty quarrels are taken to few trusted com munity leaders for arbitration.

Inter Marriages and Cordial Relations

In the early days some Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Muslims, tried to retain their identity by marrying with their own shrinking numbers. Until about the 1940s, several Hindu-Muslim marriages had to agree for the freedom of religious faith for the wife and children. However, hardly anyone of the present generation is even aware of the fact that such barriers existed earlier.

In Jamaica, Hindu-Muslim had always been cordial, each respecting the sentiments of the others; many muslims and Hindus still do not eat beef or Pork. The Priests were respected by all, including the Afro-Jamaicans, and the festivities of the Community were always attended by the other Hindu and islamic organization have been present for nearly half a century but no one has been able to arouse inter rel igious animosities among the Jamaican Indians. This is a mar ked contrast to the situation in Trinidad and Guyana.

The typically Indian Joint family systems were developed by inter-marriages among the immigrants and the growth of

individual families. Each joint family was headed by the father or in his absence, the elder brother, while all the brothers would pool resources to run the household and build the family property. After marriage the daughter-in-law would become a part of the joint family, while the daughters joined their-in-laws. However it was not unusual to find married daughters and their families living with the father and other brothers (as described so vividly by Naipaul) or building their homes in the compound of the parental home All relatives were addressed with the graditional and specific Hindi words e.g. *Kaka* or *Chacha* for uncle (father's brother) or *Mamoo* for maternal uncle.

Today within the framework of changing socio economic framework about 86 percent of the boys of middle and upper income groups and 20 percent of the lower income group now move out of the parents home after marriage, mainly for freer life However; the traditionally engrained feelings, attachments and responsibilities still exist among different members of the joint and extended families.

Indian Traditions

The relationship between different members of the family is still traditionally Indian. Among the couples in their forties or over, most wives revere their husbands and wait to serve dinner to them first before eating themselves. Socially, Indian women remained in the background but dominated the domestic scene and always set magnanimous and lofty examples of sacrifice, tolerance, love and dedication. Most educated urban ladies have now attained social status equal to their husbands. The process of general emancipation of Indian women is faster in Jamaica than in India or Trinidad.

The younger generation has much more freedom, yet about 75 percent of the educated and 27 percent of the

uneducated rural girls consider it wrong to hurt the sentiments of their parents in their life-style or choice of marriage partners. Indian parentavealways considered it their responsibility that the sons and daughters are married off to suitable partners. Early and arranged marriages had been the common practice among the Indians till the 1950s. Since the opportunities for boys and girls to meet at schools, offices or other places of healthy atmosphere where reasoning and understaning rather than myopia of passion are likely to be the determining factor, almost all the marriages are now self arranged, though approved and blessed by parents. Most parents still have restrictions on dating, particulary if the girl is a school or university student.

Inspite of the general Indianness that one finds in the majority of Indian families in Jamaica, the really close and emotionally well-knit structures similar to whose as we have observed and perceived in India, Trinidad and Fiji are not very common in Jamaica. One can notice an increasing tendency of self-centredness creeping fast among the educated Indian youths.

Grenada: Freer Way of Life

The joint (extended) family system which has become a common symbol of identification of Indians in Countries in habited by them is seldom to be seen in Grenada today. It is felt that the extended family system broke down in Grenada due to economic hardships and for a freer way of life. However, there is still the traditionally engrained feelings for and respect for the authority of the older members in the stable family unit.

Social contact at the work place and at the School particularly had breeded many unions between Africans and Indians in Grenada. These have been acknowledged, and accep-

ted with some misgivings by the parents of the couples. There is no available data on mixed marriages between blacks and Indians in Grenada, but close inspection has revealed that almost every home has members of non-Indian origin, though the frequency of such cohabitations is less in Forde where family unity is strong. Since the Indian women virtues as mother and wife are much appreciated, the black bachelors desire to marry only Indian girls.

In the early years of indentureship, the Indians like all migrant groups maintained minimal social contact with the host society. Eventually a healthy relationship developed to the extent that some of the Africans spoke Hindi and were allowed to sit in the Panchayats (village courts). Inter-racial sexual relations is the most important phonomena in the process of absorption of Indians in Grenada today. The christian chruch had destroyed cultural and ethnic differences which would have hitherto forestalled complete assimilation into also one of the key variable in the process of genetic mixing with the African race.

East Indians of the first generation particularly, strongly encouraged, their sons and daughters to marry within the clan no "matter now poor the Indian poor". Indian parents of today have become weary of such instructions, though they express the wish to see their children mate with their own kind. The genetic integration of Africans and Indians in Grenada has given rise to another sub-group, whose members are termed, interestingly enough, "half-Indians". To this must be added the fact that this sub-group (called *douglas* in Trinidad whenever they mate with Indians, would deter the immediate absorption of their progenitors, and if such unions occur frequently, would not completely obliterate the distinct physical identity of the Indians.

Economic Status: Guyana

Historically, the development and expansion of the agricultural sector has always been associated with East Indians in Guyana. The East Indian way of life has to date been predominatly rural and agricultural. A second important area of participation by East Indians in Agriculture is related to the development of land settlement schemes and the rice industry. The development of land settlement schemes marked an important thrust towards diversification and expansion of a sugar-dominated agricultural sector and it was East Indians not only saved the sugar estates from extinction but also established the rice industry, making it the most important industry in the Colony. A majority of the Tamils worked in the plantations and thus like other East Indians contributed to the development and expansion of the agricultural sector.

Some of the Tamils also worked as servants in the houses of the Europeans; some of them owned small shops and some of them even begged for their livelihood. Some ofthe small shop owners improved their position and became rich. Infact Indians have slowly progressed from being a "Coolie" to enter into important trades and professions to Guyana. In 1965 out of a total of 165 medical practioners 85 were East Indians; of the 220 legal practioners 85 were East Indians. In 1986 there were 63 medical practioners of which 37 were East Indians while there were 82 Indian legal practioners of a total of 126. Of a total of 91 land surveyors employed in the public service, 58 of them were East Indians. Between January and June 1979 of a total of 87 specialist appointments in the Public Service 44 of them were East Indians. These merely illustrate the successful attempts by East Indians to enter the various professions in the Society. The opportunities for East Indians to be employed and promoted within

the public sector are not abundant Two important departments which recruit personnel, the Labour Exchange and the Redeployment Secretariat are both dominated by Negroes,

Lesbie Muthu is one of the famous Tamil Doctors. Mr. Sammy, a Tamil is a famous businessmen and a rich man. J.R. Ramsammy working in Guyana University is a famous Commissioner in Amsterdam, but generally very few Tamils work as big officials in the Government. Some 5 to 10 percent Tamils work as teachers, Nurses and Engineers, Generaally both husband and wife work to pull on. To sum up Tamils and other East Indians play the most important role in the agricultural sector. They are perhaps the true pioneers in the thrust for self-reliance and self-sufficiency. Unfortunately public sector participation do not reflect this characteristic feature. Various management/administrative levels of the public sector reflect a serious racial imbalance with Negroes dominating occupation of the various positions. And when rewards are given in the form of national rewards, East Indians are very much under represented.

Jamaica

After the indentureship period most Indians still depended upon the plantations for jobs and housing. In order to ensure the regular supply of labourers, the plantations were also happy to lease, the outlying areas of their properties to the Indians and Africans This created few settlements of high Indian populations (e g. Vere, Race course, Kemps Hill and Portland Cottage in the Parish of Clarendon, Paul island and St. Georges Plain in West Moreland, Fellowship in Portland and Coburg Gardens in Kingston) which became seats of Indian culture in Jamaica.

Those who could afford, bought or leased the scarcely available lands while many others moved out of the plant-

ations whenever and wherever better business or job opportunities occured. This migratory phenomenon, which is still continuing, never permitted Indian culture to nucleate and develop firm roots in Jamaica. Indian cultivation techniques, preparation of threshing ground (Khalyan) by plastering with cow-dung, and Indian terms such as *Khalyan*, *Berd* (seedling) *Soop* and *Jharna* are still used by Indo-Afro-Jamaicans. Indeed rice cultivation was the centre of a viable rural economy in Indian village like Paul island until the swamps were pumped out for sugar cultivation in the 1960s. Sugarcane and banana have been the other major crops cultivated by the Indian farmers. In the Kingston area, Indians had the monopoly on vegetable growing until the 1950s when the expanding city forced them out of their lands and professions. Almost every Indian home grows vegetables and in the countryside keep cows, goats and other domestic animals.

Many others reverted to their ancestral caste professions and became jewellers, blacksmiths, carpenters, potters, tailors, midwives and priests. Indians have now entered in every profession in Jamaica including politics (having three members of Parliament.) In the countryside, about 25 percent of the Indians are professionals (teachers, clerks, sales person etc), 18 percent small and 12 percent large farmers, 10 percent businessmen, 20 percent as skilled and 15 percent as unskilled workers. In Kingston about 5 percent are doctors, lawyers, senior civil servants etc, 50 percent as other professionals, 17 percent as businessmen, 22 percent as skilled and 6 percent as unskilled workers.

Surinam

Economic Conditions of the Indians During Early Periods

The five year contract ensured the coolie a daily wage of 40 cents for women and 60 cents for men (Surinamese

money). In 1920 these rates were raised to 60 and 80 cents respectively. The age rate was based on a certain amount of piece-work. In practice, however, this amount was hardly reached either as a result of deliberate maladministration by the planters or because of the fact that the amount was just too high.

Radjen Bhagwan Bali, a Surinamese historian, revealed that infact, the actual wage received by the coolies was even well below the standard of living, atleast for women and children. Bhagwan Bali calculated that an extreme minimum of food and clothing on a daily basis would cost 30 cents for grownups and 15 cents for children in 1874.

The proportion of field and factory workers in the total population diminished from 55 percent in 1873 to 27 percent in 1904 and eventually goingdown to 18 percent in 1931.

Uprisings involving a whole plantation-most of them were bloodily repressed-occured in 1873, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1891. and 1901. and 1902. None of these involved conflicts between Indians and Africans or another oppressed ethnic group. It was always the white plantation manager assisted by the army which confronted the fighting coolies who were sometimes led by women.

In 1903 there were 1972 Indians holding a total of 14, 182 acres of public land in free use or leasing or in property. In 1911 there were already 4,250 Indians controlling 30,448 acres of land.

Some Indian peasants were self-subsistence producers. Others were selling part of their produce in the market. In district Surinam-especially around Paramaribo-these peasants

produced. Vegetables and other horticultural products. They also sold milk and meat to the city people. In the outer districts many peasants produced rice partly for themselves and to a larger extent for the export market. Only a few Indians were involved in handicraft. In Paramaribo most Indians were Cart drivers, tailors, shop keepers or small traders.

In Coomewijne Indian middlemen owned cars in the late twenties. In Paramaribo free Indian immigrants coming from neighbouring British Guyana (they formed 8 percent of the total Indian immigrants in 1921) made their way up through trade to the higher social strata of Paramaribo. In 1925, more than 30 percent of the houses belonging to Indians were owned by this category. Indian shop-keepers and traders in Paramaribo formed a small but rich category. Their sons were able to get some western education (the daughters stayed at home) which enabled them to get better positions in society. However, the mass of self-employed Indians in and outside the agricultural sector consisted of rather poor people struggling to earn a living, most of the other oppressed ethnic groups.

Position Improves Later

According to an enquiry of 1964, 15 percent of the Indian men and 6 percent of the Indian women were employed as civil servants. Before the war one could hardly notice an Indian in the civil services. The same pattern can be discerned in all sectors where no Indians or only a few were employed before the war. In 1964 mining sector employed 3 percent of the men and 4 percent of the women, construction employed 6 percent of the men and no women. The trade and banning sectors employed 30 percent of the men and 33 percent of the women.

In 1964 there was still large group of Indians working in agriculture, but the number of people in agriculture was drastically reduced (with more than fifty percent) in 1980. And these people were going into the new economic sectors emerging after the war. Among the unemployed and those who have not been able to sell their labour power and have to make a living of hustling among them, there is a growing number of Indians. Many of them have migrated from the rural areas to the town and mingled with the hustlers. So the working class was by 1980 not exclusively Creole.

The small peasants in the districts of Nickerie, Saramacca and Surinam are still of Indian origin, while in other districts such as Coronie and Para, these peasants belong to the Creole ethnic group. The rural population is mainly Indian. although in Nickerie, bordering upon Guyana, the immigrating Guyanese workers that are employed in large scale agriculture counts among them also a few creoles. The large group of importers consist now of Indians, Chinese, Lebanese or Creoles operating independently and in competition with each other.

Grenada

After indentureship, many Indians moved to settlements like Tilleres and Sauteres working as grasscutters and cultivating bananas on a commercial basis on rented lands. With much thrift and hard work they were able to establish themselves in the dry goods and transportation business, though a few continued to work on the remaining sugarcane estates at Westerhell, Woodlands, Caliviging and Denfermline.

In 1953 Smith observed that the majority of Indian im migrants in Grenada were not to be found in "urban occ-

upations" and were ascribed "the status or Negro farm workers, whose lot they shared", while some had moved to "prominence through Wealth". As peasants they pioneered the cultivation of corn, bananas, tomatoes, lettuce, watercress, dasheen, *bhaigan* (melongen), *bhodi, same* etc. In the field of animal husbandry they can be identified with the rearing of cows, goats and pigs. Their capacity for the willingness to work has earned them wealth and praise as well as condemnation and envy.

In the 1950's Smith observed that the Indians had begun to acquire control of the grocery trade. Statistical data has yet to support the feeling that today they make up a large section of Grenada's industrialists and businessmen. But the ranks in the army and police had never really attracted the Indians in large numbers. Within the years Indians have learnt to acquire remarkable skills in tailoring, carpentry, joinery and butchering.

The advancement of a few Indian should by no means be interpreted as a betterment to the Indian community as a whole. The Indians, being a highly individualistic people in the New world were concerned with their own personal wealth and professional careers, rather than the wealth of their lot. This attitude, as is being proven in Trinidad, had made their community Vulnerable to foreign penetration and as the case of Grenada, has resulted in a phase of absorption.

Decline of Indian Culture

Guyana

Since the Angle-American culture has attracted the Tamils of Guyana, they are not able to preserve wholly their traditional Tamil Culture. Still we should not fail to appreciate their eagerness to preserve some aspects of Tamil cul.

ture. Of these one of them is faith in and worship of God and temple worship. Generally we notice miscegenation in Guyana, Eventhough it is comparatively much less among Indians. Many *Madrassis* have married Bengalees and accepted Bengali culture too. *Madrassi* names were mispronounced by the Europeans but the Tamils are using the misprounced spelling of their names whole heartedly. For e.g. some Tamil name, Poonai (Poonnaiah), Lakima (Lakshmi Amma) Ramsammy (Ramaswamy) Gopal Oriva (Gopal Udaiyar), Veerama (Veeramma), Karpeeppon (Karupannu Gouader). Ramnerin (Rama Naryana), Sonmukh (Shanmugham), Kalicharan (Kaliswaran), Mariyoy (Mariamma), Nayini(Nalini), Draudhi (Draupadi), Vaurima (Vellaiamma), Ramsammy Chinnaben (Ramaswamy Chinnappen), Christian Tamils who, have become Hindus again use also names like Jono,Joseph along with these christianised Hindu names. Under such circumstances for example Chinnaben becomes John Chinnaben, Vedavelli becomes Jvedavelle John, Venkatesvarn becomes Vekateswaran John, Vijayalakshmi becomes Vijayalakshmi John. Generally Indians use always English language which is not only their language of communication but also their language of education and language of their religion. Many do not know their mothertongue. May be some of them know a little.

Jamaica

The Indians came to Jamaica in native attires; men in *Kurta* and *Dhoti* or *Kurta-Pyjama*, and women in saree, *Lahnga-Dupatta* (loose frilled skirt, blouse and mantle to cover the head), *Churidar-Kurta-Udhni* (breaches like *Pyjama*, skirt and mantle or mantilla) or *Garara* (loose frilled *Pyjama Kurta-Udhni*. These dress forms were used widely until the 1920s when western dress started to become more common. Even upto the late 1940s, it was not unusal to see Indian

men walking on the streets in the traditional Indian attire. Today, only Hindu priests, and a few old men and young girls are seen occasionally in Indian dresses at religious ceremonies and festivals.

Atleast before 1900, few plantations had prescribed pants and frocks as the working dress and people accepted them without apparent objections. Inparticular, most of the *Sardars* preferred to dress like the bosses and look differently from the rest of their gang. The Indian ladies, being used to covering their heads with the *Palloo* (front loose end of the saree) of their sarees, or with *Ohrni*, always wore a head scarf along with the western dress; the scarf is tied in the typically Jamaican (African?) Style. Whatever may have been the practice earlier, many landing immigrants between 1913-16 period with the pants and shirts or long frocks and chemise for changing on board the ship. Atleast one of the female passengers-Shazadi Begam, did not know how to wear them and landed in chemise worn on top of the frock, and an old blouse tied on the head.

Until about the 1950s, most Indians conversed in the *Oudhi* dialect of Hindi, some, particularly ladies, knew on other mode of verbal communication. Almost all have forgotten Tamil. Many Hindus could read and write Hindi and used their knowledge to write India bound letters on behalf of their illiterate bretheren Some Hindus and Muslims also knew Urudu but these languages have now all but vanished from Jamaica. The gradual disuse of Hindi since about the 1950s had deprived the Indians of the aesthetic pleasure of understanding and enjoying songs and the tradition of addressing each relative with the appropriate words, but has brought them with the mainstream of socio-economic life of the society. During the past six years dozens of young boys and girls have shown keen interest in learning Hindi but

lacked the devotion and dedication required in learning any foreign language.

The food dishes in Indian and Indo-Afircan homes have distinct Indian taste and flavour. During indentureship, the Indians were assured of the essential groceries for cooking their dishes, plots of land for growing their own vegetables, lentils, grams and spices. Since about the 1940s, the local production of most of the ingredients used in Indian dishes has been falling, while dependence on the imports has been increasing during the past fifteen years, the supply of Indian groceries in the supermarkets has been shrinking rapidly. Consequently many young people have never even seen, tasted or cooked many traditional dishes. While curry goat has become one of the national dishes of Jamaica, most Indians frequently eat *roti*, *potato (aloo) curry bhaji* (Calaloo) squash, *Karea* or bitter gourd, *Semia* or flat beans and mango *achar* (pickle) *Chatni* or *tarkari* (curry).

East Indian Association (established 1925), The East Indian National Union (1935), The East India Progressive Society (1935), The Islamic society of Jamaica (1950), The Club India (1956), The Indian Samaj (1957), The Sanatan Dharam Mundir (1965,) The Prema Sat Sangh Society (1972), The Sai Durbar Sat Sangh (1974) and The Indo-Jamaican Cultural Society (1978) preserve and promote Indian Culture in Jamaica.

Surinam and Grenada : Deculturised

Nearly 90 percent of Indo-Surinamese speak Hindi (Bhojpuri dialect of the Eastern U.P. and the Western (Bihar). There are constant efforts on the part of the Indian community to establish and promote their cultural identity.

The Indians in Grenada are dubbed as "Deculturalised" as compared with their counterparts in Trinidad, Guyana and

Surinam. But still it must be admitted that they maintain some symbols of their traditional heritage As indentured immigr-ants, the Indians brought with them their songs, language, music, art and craft and other cultural items to Grenada, which have almost disappeared into the larger society today. The cultural activists see this "Cultural rape" as a direct responsibility of the works of the Prysbyterian church and the state, who had first set the motion of "deculturisation" to bring about "the complete extinction of any survival of Indianess among the Grendian Indians".

Borgh is by far the most popular East Indian occasion to have survived today in Grenada. It is a function held on the second anniversary of a death the first anniversary is called *Bersie* and is not as popular. No meat is eaten on the first occasion, but on subsequent anniversaries a goat is ki-lled and curried. The function is punctuated with Indian da-nces, through the night and songs of the *biraha*, *dowha*, and *Chaltee* types are rendered. The only Diwali (festival of lights) observance to take place in Grenada is at the Deluxe Cinema Grenville. Since the 1970's it has been organised by a cultu-ral activist from Trinidad, Doc Ragoobar, and has drawn mixed crowds who have expressed different degrees of ambi-valence. According to best informants "memories, there were no Hindu or Muslim wedding for the last two generations in Grenada. The Indian immigrants brought their great re-pertoire of songs, music, musical instruments and dance and these have withstood the test of time in Grenada. On satur-day nights *bhajan (hymn)* group function with readings from the Gita-mala (Hindi hymn book). The venue rotates alter-natively at each participants home".

Christianity has probably dealt the most severe blow to the *puja* (family worship) in Grenada. *Mundan* or the shav-ing of a child's head within a year of birth or on the sec-

ond birthday is a practice still observed in Grenada, though fast disappearing. The ceremony involves dinner, songs and music. One of the most telling evidences of the process of assimilation are people's names. With christianization, first names and even surnames have been changed, except perhaps, in the latter instance, for Ramdhanny Bola, Budhlal, Kanhai, Ali etc.

East Indians came to Grenada during indentureship in their native attires: Men in *Kurta* and *dhoti* and women in *saree*. During the next one or two generations these dress forms including an *ohrini-scarf*-were of a common sight until value system began to change through the influence of christianity and westernization. There were also Indian ornaments worn by women in Grenada, like, for example *Churia* (bracelets), *Haikal* (necklace), *hasuli* (neck ornaments), *nakphul* (nosering) and *kara* (ankle ring). In recent times how ever wearing of ornaments have come under strong attack by the new christian churches.

In time, when the Indians will have become absorbed into the black community, the only symbol of the presence that would remain is their food. *Roti* has spread itself on the national table and curried goat is a dish relished by many non-Indians. Many Indians frequently eat rice (*bhat*), *dal* (lentils) pumpkin, *bhaji* (bush), *tarkari* (vegetables) *aloo*, (potato) *Semia* (flat beans) *chatni* or achar (appetisers) etc. and have devised special ways in preparing pomcythere, bread fruit, *chaitayne* etc.

The masses of Indo-Grenadians have no knowledge of Hindi or Tamil or Arabic and hence the most important bridge to the culture has collapsed. With the lose of their traditional language in Grenada, the Indians were not able to

preserve numerous elements of their culture today, including basic concepts and rites of polytheism. It is still possible to day to converse in Hindi with some of the older folks. Knowledge of the Indian language among the older folks in Grenada has been sustained by the listening of the Indian cultural programmes on the Trinidad radio stations.

The Indian centenary celebration was held on May 1, 1957 in an elementary school in Belmont, St. Andrews. It was an occasion which drew Indians by bus, car and foot to honour the surviving ex-indentured immigrants. Indians were dressed in *dhoti*, *Sari* and *Ohrini* and were informed about Indian history in Grenada and about the significance of Indian Arrival Day. There were songs, dance and music. The independence of Indians in 1947 has been celebrated annually with cultural performances in Jamaica and Grenada though by the 1960's the latter had ceased to observe this. On saturday nights Indian groups in Diego piece and Samaritan join-together in songs and music. The idea of introducing Indian movies in the *Deluxe* cinema owned by Lawrence Ramdhanny came with Leonard Robinson, a native Indian cultural acti vist. The restult was that Indian movies are shown twice a week and are well patronized.

Trinidad Conservation of Some Indian culture on Going Process:

Far from being snuffed out the retentions and re-interpretations of the culture of the East Indians of Trinidad, after almost one hundred and forty years, are an on-going process, deriving strength and sustanance from a conscious people whose conservation in cultural traditions is so strikingly seen in their songs and music, in their weddings and festivals in their culinary arts, in their names and even in

their dress. They transplanted India in Caroni and Changu-anas, Waterloo and Forres Park, and as V.S. Naipaul wrote, "recreated an eastera Uttar Pradesh village in central Trin idad as if in the vastness of India". Indians still are not shy of saree and dhoti. Holi is celebrated with same pomp and colours as in India *Shivaratri* is a national festival Indian '*Dal Puri*' is a speciality. After visiting India they take with them *Ganga Jal* to Trinidad and Tobago.

The early immigrants chanted the Ramayan, observed their festival like *Phegwa*, *Diwali*, *Ramleela* and *Hosay* and sang their songs. At the turn of the cetntury villages began to grow and expand and first and second generations of East Indians appeared on the scene adding to their folk repertoire new types of songs. These were the *Dhrupad*, *Tilana*. *Thumri*, *Gazal*, *Hori*, *Marfat*, *Behag*, *Kafi*, *Piloo*, *Dadra* and *Bhairavi*.

Dhurupad and *Bhairavi*, *Thumari* and *Gazal* are all ligh classicals and are sung in Trinidad with a tempo and rhythm quite peculiar to this region. During the second and third decades of this century singers and musicians appeared on the scene whose names have been linked as the pioneers of Indian culture-names like Phiramat, Imami, Ramacharan, Dharam Gosine, Rahimtullah, Bahadoor Syne, Bel Bagai, Ali Jan and Fakeer Mohammed. The first Indian movie to be shown here was *Bala Joban*. Trinidad was inundated with Indian movies patronised by an ever-concious, moview-going population. Hindu marriages are celebrated with vedic or puranic rites with a Brahmin officiating.

Tamils Over powered by North Indian Traditions

Tamil and Telugu people comprised a very small fraction of the immigrant population of Trinidad. They too came

with their traditions, their folk songs and folk dances like the *Venktasa Pirmel* and *Mala Charitra* and the Someri Dance. On rare occasions their songs were heard and their dances seen at their weddings but these gradually faded into obscurity and died from the want of support. The paucity of their numbers caused their decline and they soon became absorbed in the dominant culture of the numerically stronger North Indian traditions. The ceremonies of their weddings and funerals too were lost as their descendants adopted the life of their North Indian counterpart. No semblance of their folk dances has survived but some remnants of folk songs have been retrieved from some old folk that are still around.

But the most attractive celebration of the *Madrassis* was the 'fire pass or fire walking ceremony'. In the days when it was a spectacle of unbelievable wonder and amazement as the participants in the ceremony walked on fire. A pit 12 feet long and 6 feet wide was dug to a depth of one foot in which burning logs were reduced to fiery embers. Into this pit the fire dancers who had prepared themselves through a week of prayer and fasting, entered with bare backs and naked feet to the beating of drums. They jumped and danced in the fiery pit without burns or scorches to their feet.

In microcosm, the struggles especially of the late 19th century Punjab, between the reforming sentiment of Arya Samaj and the steadfastness of the orthodox groups were to be replayed in Trinidad in the 1930s and 40s. By the 1950s however, Orthodoxy had reasserted itself and the Arya Samaj were reduced to a mere handful of sympathisers. The activity continued in the 1950s with school building and a spate of temple construction; organised celebrations of Ramlila and Krishna lila and public readings from the religious texts.

By the mid 1960s largely as a result of internal organisational problems, the tempo of activity seems to have slackened The latest dimension to the Hindu experience is the growth of the Sai Baba Gult.

The Ramayana together with stories from the Mahabharatha and the Puranas provided the major frame work of the theological edifice of Hindu immigrants of Trinidad. Some episodes are recalled more clearly than others; Hanuman opening his breast to recall his devotion to Rama, Krishna, lecturing the unwilling Arjuna on his duty to fight, with hostile armies arrayed on either side of them. till 1940 *Ramlila, Krishna Lila* dance dramas were extremely popular in Trinidad, Guyana and Surninam. However from 1950 onwards these dance dramas began to disasppear.

Conclusion

At the first global convention of people of Indian origin held in New York in the last week of August 1989 leaders of Indian descent from the Caribbean region, Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago and the island nation of Fiji have highlighted the discriminations faced by the ethnic Indian community and asked for solidarity and financial assistance from the affluent Indian residents in the US to continue their struggle to win equal rights.

Describing of Guyana from its former status of a British Colony, the former Prime Minister of Guyana, Mr. Cheddy Jagan declared, "In Guyana today you have a Black dictatorial administration practising anti peoples policies and discrimination against Indians. This Government has brought the Country to economic ruin and bankruptcy. Not only were Indians robbed forcing but Indian women were raped by

political bandits, forcing Indians to flee". He said there was an exodus from Guyana. The barest necessities of life were unavailable Guyana was a classic example to show that a Country without social unity could not make any progress. He urged a "live and let live policy" *(The Hindu,* Madras, September 1,1989.)

Britain

Scotland, Northern Ireland, Wales, England together constitute the United Kingdom or Great Britain. The extent of its territory is 94,214 Sq. miles. Its capital is London. A majority of the people speak English. And according to a report of the Government a total of 156 languages are spoken in Great Britain including Tamil language.

Britain - Tamilnadu Relations

Commerce, Politics, Religion, Education and other factors contributed to the birth and growth of Great Britain's relations with Tamilnadu. When the British began to develop their commercial relations with Tamilnadu they were exposed to Tamil language environment and hence some of them were forced to learn Tamil language. In addition they also needed English knowing Tamils. Under these circumstances Britain-Tamilnadu relations began to blossom.

After the establishment of the British rule in Tamilnadu the British Government realised the importance of Tamil language. Hence it announced that the British officers serving in Tamilnadu should have a knowledge of Tamil language. It also tried to translate this into action by making proper arrangements for learning Tamil language. It established in Madrts city a College known as Fort St. George, where Tamil was also taught to British civil servants. In addition Tamil was also taught at Fort William College, Calcutta and at School of Oriental and African Studies, London, where both Englishmen and Tamilians taught Tamil language.

Not only in the field of language, but also in other educational fields intimate relationship developed between these two Countries. Hence Tamil knowing Englighmen and English

knowing Tamils' service were used extensively in all walks of life including in the field of religion. Furthermore the British religious missionaries took pains to learn Tamil to propagate Christianity in Tamil to Tamilians. Hence these missionaries engaged themselves in Tamil language literature and translation research and thereby contributed to the development of Tamil language.

Under these circumstances the number of Tamil knowing Englishmen and English knowing Tamils began to increase rapidly. Furthermore Tamils began to migrate and settledown in Great Britain. Some Tamils who went for higher education also got job opportunities and settled in Britain. Some of them became educationists and became British Citizenst Some of these who went for trading purposes also settled in Great Britain. Tamils from Malaysia, Fiji, Singapore, Sr. Lanka and African Countries, Caribbean islands also came and settled in Great Britain

Generally Tamils began to migrate and settle in Great Britain during the course of last forty years. And the number of Tamils who came and settled down here from Tamilnadu were comparatively less. After Sri Lanka got independence those Sri Lanka Tamils who did not get admission in Sri-Lankan Universities, came, studied and some of them permanently settled in Great Britain. Later due to the emergence of a complex and confused political situation some Tamils from SriLanka especially from Jaffna came and settled in Great Britain. They began to migrate and settledown in Great Britain with their families especially since 1983. Infact a sizable number of Tamils have migrated and settled in Great Britain during the last twenty years. Some of these Tamils are doctors, who studied medicine in Great Britain, Infact today more than fifty percent of the Tamils living in Great

Britain are doctors, engineers, lawyers, professors and traders. After the closure of the British base in Maláysia and Singapore more than twenty years ago, many of the Tamils working in these bases came and settled in Great Britain.

Tamil Population

It is not easy to state with accuracy the total number of Tamils who are living in Great Britain. We cannot get this from the British census reports. Eventhough Tamils are found living all over Britain, still a majority of them live in London.

Prof. Rama Veerasingam of London Tamil Association says that according to 1985 census reports 3.4 crores British Citizens are born outside Great Britain. Of these more than fifty percent are Whites (1.89 crores) than 607 thousand born in Ireland, 153 thousand in old commonwealth (Australia, Newzealand, Canada) 1.13 crores in west Europe and other foreign countries. Rest were brown and black people. And these were born in India, Pakistan, Canada, Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, South Africa, Botswana, Lisotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe (in East Africa) Ghana, Nigeria, Sieraleone in West Africa, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbadas, St.Kits Newis, Anguila, Pelis in Carribean, Pakistan, SriLanka, Bangladesh, India in Souih Asia, Malaysia, Hongkong, Singapore in Southeast Asia, Cyprus Zibraltor in the Middle East, Mauritius, Seychelles, Falkland islands etc. Hence in London alone more than 180 languages are spoken (Source: *Commission for Racial Eguality* (*1985*). *Ethnic Minorities in Britain Staiistical Information on the pattern of* settlement, Southern publishing co, Brighton).

According to a report there are more than 35,000 Tamils in Londolf.

Tamils live in large numbers in London, Wimbeldon Craydon, Southall. Glasgow, Manchester and Birmingham.

Influence of Tamil Culture on Britain

1. Christian missionary organisation in Tamilnadu were Tamilised, Bible itself was translated into Tamil. Chrisitanity was preached in Tamil.

2. Tamil religion went to great Britain, particularly to London. Hence Tamil religion also has become an important part of the plural religious make up of Great Britain. Sculptures from Tamilnadu, particularly Tamil God's Sculptures may be seen in Great Britain, both in museums and in private houses.

3. Tamil food also went to Great Britain. But generally it is available only in those areas where Tamil are living. These areas look like Singapore Serangon Road, Kualalumpur Chetty Street. In the Victoria Albert Museum We can see Tamil musical instruments and other objects relating to Tamil culture and civilization including political culture.

4. Tamil language went to Great Britain. Tamil literary works and Tamil manuscripts are found in Britain. Hence research and education relating to Tamil language and Tamil culture have deep roots in Great Britain. Some rare books and manuscripts can be seen in the British Library. Next to this Library, in India Office Library there are 16,000 Tamil Books and 34 Tamil manuscripst. Some rare manuscripts and books are preserved carefully in these two Libraries. In the School of Oriental and African Studies Library there are 2500 Tamil books and 20 Tamil

manuscripts. In addition we find Plenty of Tamil books in London Bible Society, Library in Oxford, Cambridge University Library and London Royal Library. In the London University Library, around 1982, there were more than 3000 Tamil books and 20 Tamil manuscripts.

5. Some Tamil words have become a part of English vocabulary. According to Aranga Muragaiyan more than thousand Tamil words are found like the following ones: E.G: *Mulaou Tawny*, *Kattamaran*, *Teak*, *Hour*, *Givil*, *Dad*, *Pot*, *Mudguard*, *Salury Salt etc* According to a Linguist the mother of English language is Tulu Tamil's Child is Tulu language. Two thousand years ago Tulu language speaking people came to Britain and settled there. And it is through them Tamil words begin to spread in Great. Britain. This appears to be a far fetched theory.

Religion

In several Western societies religious beliefs and practices are on the decline. Attendance in place of worship is getting severely reduced and the services of the priest are less sought after. In consequence, several Churches in the west are being closed down permanently, at times being handed over for purposes of non-religious activities. In Great Britain some such Churches are sold to immigrants who wish to conduct their religious services from such places. It is not so much the atheistic tendency in young people that is responsible for this state of affairs as their indifference towards religion, which they feel is incapable of solving their immediate mundane problems. However, in strongly organised religions like Islam, Roman Catholicism and Sikkism this

decline is not so acutely felt as it is in the case of some others.

There is no Church organization for the Hindus as it is in the case of Christians Sikhs and Muslims. A study of the general religious behaviour of the Hindus reveal that they express their religious sentiments by establishing religious centres or Temples. The usual apathy of the Hindus in organising themselves and the inadequate number of these immigrants living together in Great Britain in the early phases of the immigration, prevented them from having any place of worship established so soon. Recently, however, few Temples have spring up one of the main purposes being to conduct marriage ceremonies from such sacred places. Sometimes girls are brought from India and married in Britain in these temples. Invariably on such occasions simple ceremony is preferred to celebrate traditional marriage. Further in more such religious centres certain annual functions, which are mostly common in India, are celebrated on a large scale, inviting all the known Hindus here, and arranging discourses and cultural programmes. Realising the practical utility of these institutions, many immigrants participate, although with no strong convictions.

The largest concentration of Hindus and Sikhs is in Southhall (near the London airport). Leicester and Birmingham. According to a local expert, there are 50 Hindu and Sikh temples in west and north west London, 20 in Leicester and 30 in Birmingham. West Bromwich and Coventry. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad, which spearheaded the campaign for a Ram temple in Ayodhya, has 13 branches in the U.K. and 145 affiliated organisations in Britain. The local organisation strongly opposes violence and its British secretary of East African Indian origin has said that his organisation strongly

opposed violence and appealed to local Hindus not to react to "provocations of an outstanding nature".

Estimates of Britain's Muslim community vary from less than a million to two millions. There are more than 500 Mosques—London has 35, Birmingham 37, Bradford 22 and Glasgow 15 and the rest are spread all over the country. Most Muslims here are from Pakistan and Bangladesh. There are small communities of Muslims from the Arab countries, Nigeria and East Africa. A media report today indicated that about 10,000 West Indians or Afro-Caribbeans had converted to islam since the Sixties.

Tamil Religion

We find three Indian Temples in Great Britain. The newly constructed one is Murugan Temple. Venkateswara Temple is in Birmingham. Vinayaka Temples are also there. These Temples serve as Schools of Tamil language and religious education. These Tamils visit Temples perform *Pujas* celebrate festivals, observe Friday *Virdam (vows* and also see Tamilfilms. They celebrate *Chittirai Tiruvizha. Deepavali*, *Pongal* etc. festivals. During family worship, the religious ones sing Tamil songs. Even children, who are ignorant of Tamil, learn these songs and sing. The organisations, which are working for the upliftment of Tamil religion are Saiva Siddhanta Samaym Association, Saiva Munnetra Sangam, Britain Hindu Association, London Tamil Association, Hindu Temple Dharma Association. Some of these not only celebrate Hindu festivals but also publish Tamil religious literature.

In this context a reference to the Hindu temples established by some of the westereners will not be out of place. There one a large number of Hindus attending the Temples founded by the International society for Krishna conscious-

ness. Their temples and activities as well are prototypes of the original Indian institutions, although the chief architects are Europeans. Apart from the daily *pujas*, *Bhajans* (singing of hymns) accompanied by musical instruments and elated dances, there are occasional festivities, at times with epic dramas and philosophical lectures which mark the functioning of this organization So, in a sense, the Hindu culture is getting popularised in this country and more Hindu first generation immigranted than the younsgters visit such Temples in large numbers and participate in their celebrations. Some of the western young people, who are disillusioned and frustrated by the intense materialistic indulgence, take refuge in this movement, study the philosophy, lead a vegetarian life, with no extra-marital sex for those who are married, and with no sex life for those sannyasins with saffron-coloured robes, thereby leading. Pure Hindu way of life. They are, however, astonished and puzzled to see the Hindu youngsters, leaving their 'valuable' culture and following the 'frustrating super-materialistic life' from which these western devotees are just rescued.

Muslims (Kannan 1978: 107-109)

Going to the Mosque and having collective service is a common phenomenon amongst the Muslims. Usually Friday is the most important day for them, and all those who can manage to go to the Mosque on this day would do so with great devotion. But here Friday is a working day and none of them can leave their work for this purpose. So attending the Friday congregation is almost impracticable for most of them in Britain. Moreover, there are fewar Mosques than Gurudwaras here. particularly in areas where Muslims live in a scattered manner. There are not many who attend the Ramadan congregations or fast during this period, because of the exigencies of their work.

A considerable number of these less religious parents violate their food taboos, because they either find it difficult to observe them or consider it not so important in relation to their changed social environment. So many of them eat any thing in the canteen, although they observe these taboos to the extent possible at home. Many of them, even though they can read the Koran, are not inclined to do so, but give the excuse that they have no time. As has been observed in the case of the Hindu and Sikh young people, religious violations by the Muslim youngsters are also increasing proportionate to the length of their stay in this country.

Christians (Kannan 1978: 109-111)

Chistians from the Asian Sub-Continent are more religious than their counterparts. Those who attend their Churches regularly say that they are not very happy with the Church atmosphere. They have nothing against the attitude and behaviour of the priests But they feel that there is a vast difference between the interaction of the white church-goers amongst themselves and their interaction with the coloured who attend the same Church. If the Christian immigrants have this experience, it goes without saying that the change of religion is not going to help in any way in getting assimilated into the British society. The colour of the skin has become the crucial factor in the interaction of the local population with the coloured immigrants.

In nearly 40 percent, looking to the present trend of the young people, the prediction is that the future generation will have no faith in religion at all. They will be completely indifferent to religion and will pursue all the materialistic pleasures with utmost nterest.

Morality and Marriage (Kannan 1978 : 115 139)

In Tamilnadu permarital celibacy and abstinence from sex outside marriage are considered as paramount virtues. But

in the West there is 'permissiveness' relating to the sex life of the individuals, which is greatly condemened. Tamil parents are invariably against the idea of permissiveness and also to premarital contacts. They are not worried about the local norms and are mostly indifferent to these. Some boys, however, have started asserting themselves and some of them ask their Parents to give a little more freedom to their sisters. May be after three or four generations, the Parents fear, that their children would eventually accept everything from local culture under such situations tomorrow the question of premarital contacts will be of no significance to them.

Even today marriage is not a personal affair in Tamil society. Parents have an important part to play in settling the marriage. However parents invariably consult their son or daughter before selecting a suitable partner. Some time they even reluctantly permit their own son or daughter to make the choice. But they always, look to the education, economic status of the partner, the nature of the partner's parents and other relatives etc. Occasionally even inter-caste inter-religious, inter-racial marriages are tolerated. However the youngster of these days wish to have their own voice in this matter, at time going contray to traditional ideas. Thus gradually it seems, in Britain self-choice would emerge as the major trend among the Asian immigrants.

In a large majority of the cases parents ware not in favour of their sons or daughters marrying a White person. They generally believed that the couple would find it very difficult to adjust between themselves and with the unstable nature of the White partner, the marriage would end up in disaster. Secondly they may not be able to adjust with Tamil relatives.

Tamil Education

Higher studies in Tamil, including research opportunities relating to Tamil, are from the very beginning in Europe is available only in Great Britain. Tamil and Telugu were given a place in Oxford even during the 19th century. In Oxford from 1884 to 1896 G.U. Pope served as Tamil-Telugu Lecturer; Pope took pride in describing himself as a Tamilian. After his death the progress of Tamil language declined in Oxford.

Thompson, also like Pope showed much interest in Tamil language and literature. He learnt Tamil from U.V. Swaminatha Iyar. School of Oriental and African Studies, London, give special importance to Tamil language teaching and research. In addition, Oxford, Bimingham, Manchester, Edinburgh Universities also teach Tamil to those who desire to learn Tamil language. In Edinburgh University in M.A., Linguistics, structure of Tamil language is also taught as an optional.

Dr. Asher also contributes to the development of Tamil language in Great Britain. He wrote and published A Learner's Guide Book in Tamil meant for Englishmen. He has interest in Tamil literature and Tamil Grammar. In fact he is dedicated to Tamil Language. He loves conversing in Tamil. He is at present working as a Professor in Edinburgh University. He not only popularises Tamil teaching among these University students but also in doing research on Tamil language and grammar.

In the School of Oriental and African Studies. London, Dr. John Marr is contributing to the development of Tamil language study. He did research under the supervison of R. A. Chidambaranathan of Annamalai University. Dr. Kothandaraman at present working in the University of Madras, was

also teaching in this school for two years Dr. Marr is not only interested in Tamil language but also in Tamil grammar. Likewise Dr. Burrow of Oxford University is also promoting Tamil language learning in Great Britain. Dr. Whitly Dr. Lass, Dr. Courman, Mrs Gour have also showed their interest in Tamil language. These try to promote Tamil language when ever they get opportunity and came many times as advisors to Annamalai University. Hence it is not an exaggeration to say that a few British Scholars also contributed to the international stature of Tamil language.

Not only the British, but also the Tamil living in Britain promote Tamil language in Britain; of these mention could be made of about Dr. R. Nitynanandan, Principal. West London Tamil School, K. Navajothi, Teacher West London Tamil school and Rama Veerasingham (Paari), Queesn road West, Plaistow, London 13 UPF CTCL 01 – 473804,

Tamil Sangams (Associations), Temples, Literasy Associations and Tamil Schools—a total of 23 Organisations promote the cause of Tamil language in Great Britain. The motto of London municipalities is 'equal opportunity for all" including the promotion of the interests of even a small minority group They give grants including to some Tamil schools. From the total number of Tamil Schools functiong in Great Britain it can be easily deduced that Tamils are a small minority group. But these Tamils are keen on teaching and promoting Tamil language and culture among their children.

When the number of Tamils were very small, the Tamil taught their mother tongue in their own homes. But when the Tamil population increased, they arranged classes on either Saturday or Sunday in a public place. Hence at Wimbledon and East Habe in East London where sizable number

of Tamils live in 1974 Wimbledon Tamil School and Thiruvalluvar Tamil School were started. Even today they are fun. ctioning successfully. Students studying in these two Schools, after the completion of primary education can learn high level Tamil and then can write G.E.C. exam. After passing this Government High Tamil Examination, they can study Tamil in the University. Hence in Great Britain opportunities are there to learn Tamil from the Primary School stage upto B.A., and M.A., and then to do research and get D. Phil degree even.

London Tamils, who were not able to send their children to Wimbledon in South West and East Home in East, started at Greenford, West London another Tamil School.

Today we find 22 Tamil Schools in Great Britain, which are functioning well.

Tamil Schools in the United Kingdom

	School	Contact	Phone
1.	Asian Project London NIB	Ns. K. Manicavasagar	01-903-2357
2.	Ganapathy Temple Arts School, London, S.W. 19		
3.	Institute of Tamil Culture, Surbiton, Surrey.	K. Jagatheeswaran W. Thayalan	01-949-3012
4.	London Sri. Murugan Tamil Arts School, London EB 3	S.K. Ganapathy	01-478-8433
5.	London Tamil Sangam Tamil School, London E 13	Ramaveerasingam	01-470-3840
6.	London, Tamil School, London, S.W. 20.	S. Thiruchelvam	01-542-5140
7.	London Art Circle London S.E. 6	Yoga Thillainathan	01-461-3530

8.	London Veena Music Group, London S.W. 17	S. Rajah	01-672-0603
9.	Shakespeare School of Oriental Dancing Middlesex (Dance only)	Mrs.G. Shakespeare	01-951-0594
10.	South East London Tamil Youth Centre Tamil School, London S.E. 13	M. Sivagnanam P. Philomin	01-692-0823 01-697-5181
11.	South London Tamil School, Croydon	S. Kanagasundaram	01-680-8578
12.	The Tamil Association of Brent Tamil School, Brent.	Dr. Theivendra	01-423-2418
13.	T.M.K. Thiruvalluvar Tamil School, London, E. 12	D. Devadas	01-552-1775
14.	Tamil Academy of Language and Arts South Lewisham Institute, London S.E. 26	K.S. Pillai	01-857-6168 01-291-2818

15.	Waltham Forest Tamil Sangam Tamil School, London E. 17	R. Navanayagam S. Sathkunanthan	01-521-1272
16.	Lakshmi Arts Centre North-holt (Dance and Music)	L. Ramakrishnan	01-423-0189
17.	West London Tamil School, Greenford	Dr. R. Nithyananthan	01-904-5939
18.	Birmingham Tamil School	Sivayogeswaran 3, Newlerson Walmley Sutton Goldfield	
19.	Glassgow Tamil Schonl	M. Vyapooree 6 Ness Gardens Bishop Briggs, Glasgow	
20.	Northern Tamil Association, Manchester.	Segaraja Singha 11 Kent Road West Rusholme, Manchester	
21.	Tamil cultural Association Preston	S. Suntharalingam	0772-715186
22.	Tamil Union of Herts, Herts	L. Rasiah	0923-662811

23.	Yorkshire Tamil Community, Tamil School	S. Balakrishnan	0274-498126

From Monday to Friday Tamil children go to Government Schools to learn Maths, English and Science. Hence the above mentioned 23 schools mostly functioned on Saturdays and Sundays only. The link and co-ordination body between these 23 Tamil Schools is the British Association of Tamil school. This Association supervises not only over language teaching but also teaching of dance and music. It prescribes syllabus for these. Keeping inview the English environment, West London Tamil School has composed three songs. It is also planning to brings more books. The first Tamil text book in England was written by Late S. Rattinam, a former Tamil teacher of West London Tamil School.

According Dr. K. Nityanandan two Tamil text books titled *London Tamil Vasagam*, printed in Malaysia and Tamilnadu have come out. Due to lack of printing facilities in Great Britain, they were printed in Tamilnadu. But these books do not have pictures and words, that would sufficiently attract children. They do not carry pronounciation and meaning in English. Neither they explain the art of writing Tamil letters. But each foreign Tamil language text book should be written in that Country's national language, keeping in view that Country's background.

Aranga Murugaiyan (West London) observes; Most of the Schools here use in their respective Schools only Tamil books published in Tamilnadu, Sri Lanka and Malaysia. These books are actually written or those students who learn Tamil five days in a week. But here only on one day

in a week Tamil students learn Tamil because during other days they go to Government English schools. To these Tamil boys only in name Tamil is their mother tongue: really their mother tongue is English. They think in English and then only translate those thoughts into Tamil, while conversing. Hence the method of teaching Tamil to these children must be different. First teach them simple and easy words, then gradually teach them more difficult words. Tamil stories should be written in simple Tamil and more comics in small book form should be published. Dictionaries should contain more illustrative pictures.

Rama Veerasingam observes: Most of the Tamil Schools in Britain teach *Bharatanatyam*, music, instrumental music along with Tamil languages. Some Schools do not teach languages. Only Fine Arts are taught. Some Schools give much more importance to the teaching of Fine Arts and hence only give second place to the teaching of Tamil language in their curriculam. One of the peculiar characteristics of Tamil Schools in England is students of the same class do not belong to same age group. The class to which one belongs depends on his proficiency in Tamil and not on age, as is the case normally in other Schools Hence some times even a grown up boy with poor knowledge of Tamil is forced to study with smaller boys of the same class. Hence Tamil is taught in different groups according to one's capacity and proficiency, whatever be his age.

London Tamil Sangam is functioning in London for more than 50 years. Eventhough its Tamil School is only 6 years old, still its contribution to Tamil is noteworthy. It shows keen interest in teaching Tamil. Every year it celebrates *Pongal* festival. On this day it creates many opportunities for the Tamil students to display their love for Tamil.

It teaches *Atthichudi*, *Konraivendan*, *Tirukkural* Even children below fourteen years learn and sing songs from Bharati, Bharatidasan and Desiya Vinayagam Pillai. In this School more than hundred Tamil students are studying. This School gives importance to Tamil language and literature. *Tamilar Munnetra Kazhagam* is incharge of East London Tiruvalluvas Tamil School. In this School also more than 100 students are studying. Some students go on Saturdays to Thiruvalluvar Tamil School and on Sundays to London Tamil Sangam Tamil School.

London Sri Murugan Temple situated in East London is not only a place of worship but also a Fine Arts Centre for learning. Here *Bharatanatyam*, *music Veena*, *Mridangam* etc. are taught. Hence London Tamil Sangam Tamil School has not included Fine Arts in its curriculam.

But in West London Tamil School Tamil language, *carnatic music*, vocal, *veena*, *violin*, *Mridangam*, *Bharatanatyam*, Drama, religion and computer science are all taught. But this does not mean the same student learns everything. It also depends on a student's choice.

General Education (Kannan 1978.65-91)

Apart from weekend Tamil language education, Tamil students living in Great Britain daily attend various Schools with great enthusiasm and regularity. Infact parents are keen on giving good education to their children.

Those Asian students who had taken up studies had very serious difficulties in the beginning in adapting to the educational system here, particularly those who had a few years of education abroad. The language was the main stumbling block, although they were at a disadvantage in following a

new curriculam. The majority of their classmates were white children and they were very reluctant to approach them for any help regarding their studies. However, some of their white, peers understanding the problem of such children, volunteered to help them and girls did this more often than boys. Inspite of all these initial drawbacks, these immigrant children tried their level best to improve the quality of their studies Some of the girls who came to the help of these Asian youngters particularly in the beginning of their studies, became veryfriendly with them. Such free mixing and friendly feeling attimes result in intimacy and proposals for marriage.

Generally Asian students behave very well in the class and hence the teachers are happy. Hence teacher student relationship becomes very cordial. Since most of these children do remarkably well in their studies, the teachers treat them with appreciation. Instances of teachers discriminating children on grounds of colour are few and far between. Generally students, both white and coloured students mix in a friendly way. There are sometimes a few coloured teachers in a School and their presence give the coloured pupils added moral strength and a stimulus to study.

Mass Communication

The oldest Tamil Association in Great Britain is London Tamil Sangam, Where Tamil Fine Arts are taught. In addition we have Croydon Tamil Cultural Centre, Silampoli Madar Sangam, Central British Tamil Refugees Justice Association, Amateur Kalaikazhagm, London Eelam Tamil Association, Tamilar Orunginaipu Kazhagam (Tamil Unity Association), Tamil Eelam People Vidutalai Kazhagam, Tolk-

appia Kalvi Manram, Illangayyar Isai Manram, Mattamil Kalai Kazhagam, Vanavil Isai Manram, Eeela Tamilar Illainzar Ani, Tamil Ilainzar Munnetra Kazhagam. In north London we have not only Engineering Colleges, but also Tamil Manavar Ara Nilayam, Dravida Ara Nilayam and Wimbledon Eeela Aaivakkam.

Two Souvenirs, special commemmoration volumes containing research articles, were puplished in 1973 and 1976 by London Tamil Sangam During the fifth world Tamil Conference *Tamil Malarchi* brought out a special issue. In 1978 Tiruvalluvar Tamil School brought out a special issue a Souvenir.

The first Tamil magazine to be published in Britain is *London Murasu* in 1979. This magazine covered Tamil liter ature, politics, society etc. and it served the British Tamils for ten years. The motto of *London Murasu* is that if Tamilians live Tamil will live. Other Tamil Journals are *Tamilan Kural* and *Eeela Vidutalai Edu* and *Malarchi Edu*.

We have B.B.C. *Tamilosai* Tamil broadcast for five days in a week from Monday to Friday. *Iyal, Isai, Nadaka-mutthamail* programmes are broadcast. Generally programmes relating to Tamil literature, history, culture, translation, science news, conversation, poetry, seminars are broadcast in Tamil. V.R. Krishnamoorthy was in charge of these programmes. Now Sankara Murthi is in charge of these Tamil broadcasts programmes.

Due to some patrons efforts Tamil pictures are also shown in Theatres. In addition dance and drama are also periodically performed. Tamils in Britain see Tamil Cinema every month.

British Policy Towards Tamil Refugees

Inspite of Stringent immigration laws relating to immigrants and White Britishers ways of life including on housing education and social service, the British Government under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has partial outlook towards the non-Whites including Tamils and other Asians. Hence the Tamil, especially Sri Lankan refugees have not been received with love for their permanent settlement in Great Britain. But, to the best extent possible their refugee status has been considered and weighed and has been accordingly given humane treatment. For example a number of Tamils are applying for asylum in the UK, especially since 1984, (400 in 1984; 1500 in May 1985 and the UK Government too with fairmindedness permitted more than one thousand to live permanently as per immigration regulation in the United Kingdom. Such liberal outlook followed earlier has even permitted Tamils, especially few of them, even to become rich millionaries. However these rich Asians demand equal racial status including representation in Parliament, knighthood status and other local traditional honours etc. for which Great Britian is striving to the extent possible. keeping in view the privileges and motives of the local white and immigrant white Citizens of the United Kingdom. (See for example S Guy De Fontgalland, Sri Lankans in Exile, 285-291).

The far-right British National Party's first win has triggered much consternation in the British liberal quarters and evoked front page headlines in most national newspapers. This news comes amid latest police revelations that there were 7,800 recorded racial incidents in the country and unrecorded incidents may also be very high. The British National Party candidate won by seven votes. Soon after their

triumph police in riot gear and horse back fought to control clasehs between the British Nationalist Party supporters and anti-racistcampaigners. The Liberal leader Mr. Ashdown said "This isvery, very bad news for all those who are committed to democratic policies."

Political observers say the British Nationalist Party is inarticulate and overtly racist. Often described as "bunch of rightist loonies" the BNP's main support comes from the Skinheads who are essentialy labourers, many of them unemployed and least educated. But the Party, manages to terrorise pockets of Bangladesh communities in the poorer parts of London, The BNP's first and unprecedented victory in a local government election has omnious overtones.

Tamil Language and its Promotion by the Britishers Since The Colonial Period

Prof K. Meenakshi Sundaram in his monumental work "The Contribution of European Scholars to Tamil" has ably summarised the contributions made by the British Scholars to Tamil since the advent of the British in Tamilnadu, especially after the establishment of British Colonial rule in Tamilnadu, a part of British Indian Empire. An extract of these is quoted below:-

Robert Anderson wrote a Tamil grammar book in English called "*Rudiments of Tamil Grammar*" combining with the rules of *Kodun Tamil* as ordinary dialect and introduction to *sentamil* or The Elegant Dialect of Language, during the first quarter of the 19th century.

Cald Well

Caldwell is a name to reckon with in the study of Tamil Grammar. He was a Scotcs man. While studying in Glasgow

he was introduced to comparative philology which stood him in good stead while working on his monumental work "*A comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages*" which has come to stay and will remain as a master piece on the subject. He had a great interest in history with Marco Polo's mention of 'Kayal' in view he concludes that Tamilnadu had contact with foreign countries from early times. He shows for example Tamil words found in Hebrew and Greek. For instance the Tamil word *Tokai* has been introduced in Hebrew as '*Tuki*' meaning the peacock's plumage and the word *Arici* changed into Greek as '*Arusa*' meaning rice.

Caldwell compares words of the Dravidian languages with those in the other major families of languages in the world-semitic, Scythian and Indo-European. There are coincidences and these reveal that probably harking back to a very early period, there was a tongue now nonexistent which was common to all probably there was a considerable amount of contact between people of these tongues which left in its wake these coincidences. This exceptional comparison of Tamil with the other major languages of the world has shown in the definite niche occupied by Tamil among them.

Caldwell was one of the earliest who grouped clearly number of languages under the caption of Dravidian languages and declared that Tamil was the eldest sister in that group. This Dravidian group he divided into two ie cultiva ted and uncultivate languages. Among them he said that Tamil was the most highly cultivated apart from its great antiquity. Time and again he says that Malayalam could be considered as the daughter of Tamil. He was one of the first to analyse piecemeal Tamil to reveal that it was different from Sanskrit. Investigating grammar threadbare, he showed that it could be constructed on a historical basis and

this paved the way for the study and construction of a historical grammar of Tamil. He often and again compares Tamil with other affiliated languages. Such comparisons seem to show the native grammarians that if they learnt these affiliated languages, their comparisons would be more correct and a historical construction more authentic; also facts not quite clear or definite could be made clear by a study of the uncultivated and cultivated tongues. The differences he found and pointed out between Tamil prose and poetry gave a suggestion to develop a separate grammar for prose which has grown by leaps and bounds His constant endeavour to summon inscriptional evidence to establish his views has shown that these inscriptions are an invaluable aid for research to the indigenous people. The methods he adopted to write his compartive and historical grammar have been copied by later workers in this field His works have been an incentive for further research on these lines, for example, by professor T.P. Meenakshisundaran, Dr. A. Chidambaranatha Chettiyar, P.S. Sastri, Dr. M. Varadarajan and others.

Caldwell in his work affillates Tamil with the Scythian group and not with the Indo-European group of languages. But it is obvious that whenever such an affiliation is noted, he is not very determined about it. One cannot wholly accept, this theory that Tamil belongs to the Scythian groups; later-research has to prove this beyond doubt and until that time one cannot accept definitely Caldwell's theory.

His monumental work is to this day an indispensable book for Scholars and students of language. It could be compared with the great Tamil classical grammars like *Tolkapiam* and *Nannul.*

Beschi has no doubt written a Tamil grammar in Tamil but his book is rarely encountered these days; but Caldwell's

book though in English has been translated into Tamil and is very frequently used. A grammatical study of Tamil can never be divorced from Dr. Caldwell's book, such is the merit of his outstanding contribution.

Drew

Rev. Dr. Drew studied Tamil under the famous Ramanujakavirayar He prevailed on the latter to write a brief commentary on the *Nannul.* Drew translated the *Kural* into English. He rendered the couplets into English prose. John Lazarus, an Indian missionary, revised Drew's work and published it. The first part of the work by Drew appeard in 1840 and the second in 1852. The *Kural's* text, Parimelalakar commentary, Ramanujakavirayar's amplification of the commentray and Drew's English prose rendering of the *Kural* were all included. Drew's revised version by Lazarus has been published by the South Indian Saiva Siddhanta works publishing Society in 1962 entiiled '*Tirukkural*' with translation in English. Only for 630 couplets was Drew able to give an English translation. The remaining were taken up by John Lazarus. Drew apart from giving certain novel interpretations for the *Kural* has also done a great service to Tamil by revealing it to the English people. Bishop Caldwell in his Reminiscences (1894, p-52) says that Drew was "a devoted student of Tamil. . His edition of the *Kural*, a great Tamil classic, though he did not live to complete the work, placed him in the first rank of European Tamil scholars... I derived much benefit from the stimulus to Tamil studies that I received from my daily intercourse with Mr. Drew".

Ellis

Francis Whyte Ellis arrived in India in 1796. He was a member of the Madras Civil Service. He had lived for twe-

nty three years in India at the time of his death in March 1819. Ellis made a deep study of Sanskrit and mastered the four main Dravidian languages. A deep and penetrative study of the Dravidian languages convinced Ellis beyond all doubt that these languages were a separate entity and did not belong to the Sanskrit group nor did they need its assistance for survival despite often being intermixed and beautified by Sanskrit words.

The College at Fort St. George was chiefly the result of his untiring efforts. From all over the then Madras Province he collected manuscripts for the use of this College. It is believed that Ellis wrote a treatise on Tamil prosody and unfortunately it has not been preserved and it is not available.

Ellis' outstanding work which has come down to us is his commentary on the great *Kural*. Though this commentary is neither completely comprehensive nor exhaustive, it does reveal to a remarkable degree the author's extensive knowledge of Tamil literature and his correct understanding of India, her people and their hoary traditions.

Ellis long and close acquaintance with Cuvaminata Pillai enabled him to mark a penetrating study of the *Kural* and to compare this Tamil masterpiece with other compositions embodying similar ideas in Tamil. Ellis displays his gratitude to his teacher by incorporating Cuvaminata Pillai's epic in his commentary of the *Kural*. He also includes in his work two separate poems of his tutor.

Citampara Pantaram was Ellis contemporary. The former has been frequently quoted by Ellis which shows us that he was acquainted with the current trends in the Tamil of his day. These allusions to Cuvaminata Pillai and Citampara

Pantaram help the student a great deal in constructing the history of that era.

Ellis has not translated and commented on the entire *Kural.* He has been selective and discriminative in his choices of the verses and chapters. He limited himself to the first book and even this he did not completely exhaust. He frequently in his work quotes from a "Latin Commentator". He has also corrected the Latin Commentator. Despite frequently conceding and quoting from Parimalalakar, Ellis differs from him in some places, as for example, in his interpretation of verses in chapter six. He has shown that there is only one instance in the entire *Kural* where the author has used Sanskrit derivations. He has thereby shown the purity of the language maintained by Tiruvalluvar in the entire composition.

Ellis has made a thorough study of Beschi's Tamil works and he has not hesitated when occasion demanded to quote freely from them. Robert-de-Nobili has also been cited. His work abounds in allusions and quotations from Telugu and Sanskrit works and Cankam classics right upto his contemporaries. Cicero, Aristotle and Shakespeare have also been quoted. Whenever he gave a Tamil reference he gave an English translation of it. Thereby he has done a great job by introducing the foreign scholar indirectly to almost all these works.

The Bible and the psalms are also alluded to. Ellis has felt that a verse embodying one of the principles of Christianity ie "all things whatsoever, ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them" should be included in the *Kural* and this inclusion he feels will not be incongrous. He has given a verse in the *Kural* metre embodying this notion and though we are not aware of its author it defin.

tely has added to the appeal of the *Kural.* He has added a commentary on it.

On Ellis *Kural* translation Charles E. Gover says: "A selection of stanzas from the first thirteen chapters was translated in metre by Mr.F. Ellis, an eminent Madras Civil Servant. The rendering is exceedingly clumsy but is the only blot in a most Valuable work. It should be admitted, however, that translation was not Ellis object so much as gramamatical analysis and the illustration of Tiruvalluvar's idea by parallel passages from other eminent Tamil poets. The abrupt cessation of Ellis' labours in this direction was a great misfortune for Tamil Literature" *(The Folk Songs of Southern India,* 217-218).

Beschi's 'Tembavani' was collected by Ellis when in manuscript form). In 1819 Ellis sponsored the printing of the second of Beshi's *Caturakarati.*

Ellis believes that ancient Tamilians were acquainted with the art of writing and that there were Tamil characters even before the advent of Sanskrit. He pays a tribute to Tamil, when he says, "The Tamil, the genius of which is to hint rather than to define the signification of its words, selects generally a single idea to indicate a class or series". He continues "the Indian tongues exceed beyond comparison those of Europe in minuteness of distinction and strenth of hyperbole" " ... it is the genious of the Tamil and other Indian languages so to express all abstract ideas, those even, in the preference for which they have simple terms...". (Ellis, Tirukkural Commentary. (Edited by Dr.R.P.S. 334-337).

Green

Dr. Samuel Fisk Green (1822-1884) went as a missionary physcian to Ceylon. While teaching in a medical school

in English he found that the English terminology of medical text books was unintelligible even to educated natives. They had to be taught in their own language. He immediately launched on a stupendous programme-which involved many years of toil-of accurately defining in Tamil the medical terms and the task of creating a medical nomenclature in Tamil.

The first work Green selected for translation was the "*Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene*" by Dr. Calvin Cutter. A glossary has been in this book.

In 1855 a Dictionary of Tamil medical Science and a work on Medical Synonyms English and Tamil were started by him along with many other translations.

Dr Green knew that to teach the native students medicine he had to speak to them in their own language Tamil. Before his death he was able to print the Tamil versions of Manusell's obstetrics, Druitt's Surgery, Gray's Anatomy, Hooper's Physician's Vade Mecum, Well's Chemistry, Daltoe's Physiology and Waring's Indian Pharmacopoea. Dr. Chapman alias Dr. Vaitilingam, a Jaffna Tamil, was a favourite student of Dr. Green. He collaborated with Dr. Green in the translation of the English medical books into Tamil.

Books on medicine and its all subjects are full of technical words and it is a very difficult task to translate them into Tamil. In this process, it was inevitable that most of the words were Tamilised, English words adopted to suit the Tamil pronounciation Sanskrit words were interspersed. The principles employed during translation are listed. This is bound to be a valuable guide for future translators; some times borrowing of words have been from Latin. Green in "*The*

Science and Art of Surgery" enumerates the ways used to choose Tamil equivalent for the technical words.

During the early years of his missionary life Dr. Green contributed to a New York Medical Journal an article on Tamil obstetrics and one on Tamil Surgery. After his final return to his native place he prepared a tract of nearly three pages on "*Hints for English Beginners in Tamil*".

In one of letters Dr. Chapman says that Dr. Green was able to talk Tamil very easily and fluently and that he had the command of words, phrases, idioms and proverbs.

Rev Dr John Murdoch

John Murdoch was born in Glasgow on July 22,1819 He was a Scot "After Alexander Duft no other man has done so much for the diffusion of Christian thought in India as this plain, modest indefatigable plodding Scotsman". In 185ɔ, he entered the service of the United Presbytery of Scotland in order to devote himself entirely to literary works In 1858 he went to Madras and was given charge of the Christian vernacular education society.

He directed all his efforts towards the production in English and in the more important native tongues school books which were recognised by the government. "*Hints to Native Teachers*" was translated from the English treatise by him.

His famous contributions is *Classified Catalogue of Tamil Printed Books 1865*. He confesses in the preface that the very idea of such a catalogue was copied from Rev. J. Long. Infact his a pioneering work, because this process was until then unknown in the Tamil country. However this novel method was readily accepted by the Tamilians, who began to emulate him.

Murdoch has classified the Tamil books into ten different divisions and has listed printed books for each section individually and finally has totalled the entire lists of the printed books. It was unpodate. The Chief purpose as expressed by the author himself was to form a "judgement as to which books should be published" and to "aid in showing which books are most wanted in the Tamil language". A perusal of his lists will show that religious books top the list and among them books on Christianity lead.

John Murdoch gives for each book in his catalogue, a short synopsis, the author's name, publisher's name, year of printing, number of pages and its price. His notes are a source of unending value to any Scholar keen on constructing the history of Tamil literature.

Murdoch has pointed out that there are very few books on art and almost no books at all on painting, sculpture and architecture. Discussing "Mathematics" he says "this branch of Science to have been little studied among the Tamils. The low condition of arithematic may be understood form the fact, that the Tamil system has no cipher". Harking back to Beschi's works, we find that in his *Kotuntamil* he has given the Tamil multiplication tables, measures of vaious kinds existed even during the early periods. The inference naturally follows that mathematics was not a little studied science but only books on it were little written. The absence of cipher in Tamil mathematics has to be established by later research.

In 1865 John Murdoch claims there were 12 monthly periodicals in Tamil. Among them 10 were run by Christians and only two by natives. He says that the first periodicals to be started in India seems to be a Tamil one published by the Madras Religious Tract Society, which continued to be published till 1846.

John Murdoch advised the educated Tamil not to neglect Tamil. He warned that "so long as they despise their mother tongue, they have merely a thin white wash civilization".

Rev. P. Percival

In 1826 Percival arrived in Madras. He had studied the rudiments of Tamil in England. He was the Professor of Vernacular Literature at Presidency College, Madras till 1870. A keen observer with an absorbing interest he was soon attracted to the proverbs which embellished everyday life. At Madras he started to collect Tamil proverbs. By 1842 he had gathered 1900 Tamil proverbs and printed them from Jaffna with an English translation of them. By 1860 his list of proverbs had enlarged to 5000.

Rev. G. Frayar at Mannargudi had also collected Tamil proverbs for nearly eight years. This list was obtained by Percival and he found that it contained only 1(0 which were not included in his own collection. From the Vepery press at Madras, a different collection of 4.000 proverbs in Tamil were printed-nearly all of them were in his list In 1874 the proverbs collections were revised, enlarged, edited and printed again. Percival's collection of proverbs was probably pionerring work and he was emulated by native writers who collected and edited them still one should not forget "*Palmoli* nanuru" written by Munruraiyaraiyar (400 Tamil proverbs) the first work on provers in Tamil.

Percival is of opinion that these proverbs are of immense value to a foreigner who has to spend much of his life in this country. The main sources for the formation of pro-

verbs are agriculture, objects of nature, habits, domestic and religious usages, commerce, government and habits of animals.

Percival translated the aphorisms of Avvaiyar-which had two reprintes during his own life time. He says these apporisms are of unequalled brevity and beauty". He has also translated the Tamil work "*Kapila Tevar Akaval*".

Percival was the author of the book "*Land of the Vedas*". He assisted in the preparation of *Tamil-English Lexicon*, *English-Tamil Dictionary* and a Tamil Dictionary sponsored by Rev. J. Knight of the American Mission at Jaffna. He also complied "*Tamil English Practical Dictionary*" and an *Anglo-Tamil Dictionarv*. They were in Roman and native characters. The latter work contained twenty five thousand words. It proved to be a useful dictionary for students and was popular. Many editions of it were printed.

With the aid of Arumuganavallar, a native of Ceylon, Percival translated the Bible, into good Tamil. He also reveals in his book of proverbs that the collection of them was interrupted for some time, since he was preoccupied with the task of preparing books and maps in Tamil.

Percival was the editor of Tinavarttaman, a weekly Tamil newspaper started in 1855. It had eight large quarto pages "since its establishment it has maintained almost undisputed possession of the field, literary and scientific articles are included as well as news with occasional translations in English of Tamil classicial authors. Native correspondents are allowed freely to Ventilate their opinions through its columns. On the whole it is doing a considerable amount of good". (John Murdoch).

On Tamil, Percival says, "Perhaps no language combines greater force with equal brevity and it may be asserted that no human speech is more close and philosophic in its expression as an exponent of the mind. . ."

George Uglow Pope (1820-1908)

Dr. Pope from his early years like Fr. Beschi displayed a rare love for languages. In his 19th year he volunteered for missionary work in the Tamil speaking areas in South India and set sail for South India in 1839. It is said that during the eight months of his voyage, he so thoroughly mastered the new language Tamil that on alighting at Madras preached in Tamil at Santhome. A few years after his arrival he wrote "the prayer Book in Tamil and the English church in India, but it was lost. While he was having a teaching assignment in Tanjore he wrote Tamil Hand Book. Tamil Grammar, Tamil-English-English-Tamil Dictionaries, History books and anthologies. While at Ooty he studied the Toda language and wrote an outstanding book on its grammar. In 1885 he joined the staff of the Oxford University and taught Tamil and Telugu as Professor of Tamil The Royal Asiatic Society recognizing his merits and the valuable contributions he had made to the understanding and learning of Tamil literature gave him in :906 its Gold Medal.

Dr. Pope was the first to translate the entire *Kural* into English. He has rendered it into English poetry, paying heed to the rhymes. He calls this translated work as "*The Sacred Kural*". In 1886 he completed the translation of this work. He finds the *Kural* an "echo of the Sermon on the Mount. He believes that Tiruvalluvar drew his inspiration from Christian scriptures. On Tirukural he says "in value it far outweighs the whole of the select remaining Tamil literature, and

is one of the select number of great works which have entered into the very soul of a whole people and which can never die". He describes the *Kural* as "a couplet containing a complete and striking idea expressed in a refined and intricate metre". This is the first book in which the author's style of language has been considered piecemeal. Pope is a pioneer in this line. For each couplet Pope gives the interpretation of his predecessors Beschi, Graul, Ariel and Drew besides adding his own.

Nalatiar or the Fou rhundred quatrains" was undertaken after Dr. Pope completed the translation of the *Kural.* His motive he says was "to assist Europeans to acquire some acquiantance with classical Tamil and this work along with Kural "will throw" a flood of light upon the whole ethical and social philosophy of the Tamil people", He has done a grammatical study of *Nalatiyar* even as he did on *Kural.* He divides the 400 verses into two of which 300 are *nericai venpa*" and 100 are "*innicai venpa*". For every verse he gives briefly the main idea in prose before the commencement of the poem. In 1893 he finished the translations of the *Nalatiyar*.

Pope also wrote brieflly on *muturai, nanneri, nitineri vilakkam* etc poems in the Journal "*Light of Truth*" and thus introduced them to foreign Scholars. He says "the Tamil poethave not imitated the Sanskrit as those of the other dialects of India have "He considers the Tamil Poetic metre as "absolutely unique" and the rhyme as akin to old keltic and Saxon poetry. Pope also has written six articles on Tiruanasampantar, Manikkavaccakar, Cekkilar, Periyapuranam and on the legend of Cantecuvara Nayanar.

Some Teevaram hymns of Tirunanacampantar have been translated by Pope. He thinks though Tirunanacampantar

was the dearest poet of the Tamil his compositions were not superior to those of Manikkavaccakar. He feels *Teevaram* is a bit difficult despite its being a "touching elegy". He has however translated some.

It appears *Periyapuranam* was not highly regarded by Pope. But Manikkavaccakar, considered by him as "rare genius" was highly esteemed by him. He translated first the "*Morning Hymns*" by Manikkavacagar and later translated and annotated the 51 pomes of *Tiruvaccakam* which he describes as "the Vedas of the South" to help in the understanding of the Hindu religion and the Tamil people by the English. Towards the close of the work he gives a chapter on "Lexicon and Concordance" a novel feature present in almost all his works. In this he gives for words their roots, origins and development and different meanings. In his view *Caiva cittanta* is the choicest product of South Indian intellect" and development of this concept marks "decided advance in theological science", personal devotion found in caivaism is not present in the Vedas". Siva, in Pope's opinion, was pre-Aryan and different from Rudra. With the mingling and diffusion of Dravidian and Aryan cultures the many legends attributed to Rudra were transformed to Siva and they are associated with him in the modern Saiva System.

Dr. Pope also translated '*Manimekalai*' by writing several articles to '*Siddanta Dipika*' Volumes 11 and 12. He has written and published nine articles about *Purananuru*. Some of the *Purananuru* verses were translated by him. He showed deep interest in this Tamil work which in his view" abunds in short passages of great beauty casting vivid light upon many old customs and giving fitting expression to feelings and sentiments which are common to all the world".

A translator. Pope feels should identify himself or herself with the original author and get into the exact mood and then translate. He wants English pieces to be translated into Tamil even as he translated Tamil composition into English. To his European friends who had to spend their life in the Tamil country he said that they should not only 'think in Tamil' but also should feel in Tamil if they were to be useful and intellegible to Tamils.

Pope published "a catelogue of The Tamil Books in the Library of the British Museum" in 1909. He also published *Tamil Poetical Anthology with Grammatical Notes and a Vocabulary*" which contained 612 selections from fifteen different Tamil works and 307 of this 612 were from the *Kural*. The Cankam works have failed to find a place in this selection. The purpose of this book was to cater to the needs of school children. He did not use the traditional method of editing the *Venpa* and the *Kural* couplets. He included punctuations and certain markings to separate the combined words. Words in the slections were alphabetically listed with meanings in Tamil and English. This was a novel introduction in anthology. Introductions of this kind in anthology have been followed right upto the modern day.

Dr. Pope has rendered Tamil grammar easy by adopting the method of questions and answers. This catechistical method has been adopted for the clear exposition of the Bible A similar method has been followed by Dr. Pope so that Tamil grammar can be studied by foreigners without much strain on their part.

Pope also wrote in simple prose to help foreigners to learn Tamil, a book on Tamil grammar called "A first catechism of Tamil Grammar". Since it was in prose, it helped

the natives also to a large extent. All earlier native grammar works were in the *Cuttira* style, but this work of Pope's switched over from it to the prose form.

He also wrote "*A Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language*" The second part of this work had "key to the Exercises with notes on Analysis". This key was the first of its kind in Tamil and led the way for adopting of it by natives later. This was also in simple prose and stated clearly the ways of learning Tamil.

To enable easier study of Tamil Dr. Pope wrote in 1859 "*A Tamil Handbook*" which had in its indexes words from English to Tamil and Vice versa. These indexes were later revised and published in two parts of which one is the "*A compendious Tamil-English Dictionary*". The origin of the words and the languages from which the words were borrowed are given.

Dr. Pope independently compiled a Tamil Dictionarys which his son, after the father's demise, sent to the Madras Oriental Manuscript Library. The Tamil Lexicon of the Madras University probably evolved from the original frame work of Dr. Pope and Rev. Chandler.

Dr. Pope wrote a "*Tamil prose Reading Book or A companion to The Hand Book-in Five Books*" in 1859. It was divided into five sections. The first had tables and easy stories the second had the second part of *Pancatantira*, the third dealt with the history of Nala, the fourth treated the history of Rama and the last had miscellaneous pieces. In this section Pope gives the ways and methods used by adminitrators in their offices.

Pope, after his death, buried in England and he wished that his Epitaph should include the phrase Tamil Manavan (தமிழ் மாணவன்') He said. "Let Tamilians cease to be ashamed of their vernacular". He declared that two hours of study spread over a year is sufficient to learn Tamil.

H. Stokes

H. Stokes of the Madras Civil Service translated the "*Nitinerivilakkam*" ' written by Kumarakurupara Tampiran. In his view this work is comparatively modern, but was widely studied by the learned of South India. He has explained the words in the vocabulary both in English and Tamil to benefit the natives and the Europeans. He was assisted by five natives scholars in preparing this work-Of these Tantavaraya Vattiyar deserves to be mentioned. Sometimes in his explanations he has quoted from the *Kural* and Avvaiyar's works. Pope has well appreciated this work.

Rev. William Taylor

Re. William Taylor, a protestant missionary published in Tamil the book called '*vetattatci*' which was printed at Madras in 1834. To enable Europeans to study Tamil he printed books in English and Tamil. He translated '*Verriverkai*' by Ati Virarama Pantiyar into English. He believes that before 1835 except the *Kural* and some poems of Avvai no book was published by the natives. It was only in 1863 that the natives were able to start a press at Madras.

In 1835 Taylor published his work entitled "*Oriental Historical Manuscripts in the Tamil language*" Translated with Annotations "Madras 1835) In the 'D' section he deals with geography and therefore is the first writer to write on geography. The unfinished third and fourth parts of Rottler's Dictionary were completed by him. He prepared a catalogue

of the available manuscripts. In his view Tamil is one of the most copious, refined and polished languages spoken by man".

The Christian missionaries were the first one to start Tamil periodicals. In 1849 *Cirupillaiyin necattolan*, a children's magazine was printed by Palayamkottai Missionary "*The Mission School Magazine*", a monthly was printed by the South Indian Christian School Book Society in 1858 At Yalpanam *Paliyanecan* was started in 1859 for student. The Lutheran Mission started *Arunotayam* in 1863. In the same year *Cuviceca tutikai* was published from Nagarcoil

Till 1864 Hindus did not start any magazine. *Tattuva Potani* was the magazine started to propagate Hinduism by the "*Veda Samaj*". Another Hindu periodical *Viveka Viiakkam* was started in 1865.

In 1855 Rev. Percival commenced a weekly Tamil news paper called *Tinavartamani* Rev. Baylis translated into Tamil "*Come to Jesus*" in 1857. Dr.A.C. Burnell in 1874 published his first edition of his work called "*Elements of SouthIndian Palaeography from the 4th to the 17th century A.D*". The second edition of this work was printed in 1878. Thus inscriptions were read by scholars like Keilhorn, Fleet and Burnese with a historical sense for the first time.

One Nicholis translated from the English many proverbs into Tamil and had them illustrated too. This book was edited by Rev. A.F. Caemmera. Another work entitled "A Classicial Collection of Tamil Proverbs" was written by Herman Jensen and printed in 1897. The famous Aesop's Fables, a palaimmcotta translation was editted by Rev. A. F. Caemmera. This book was out of print as easly as 1865.

In 1882 Hermen Jensen, a Danish Missinary wrote a book '*A Practical Tamil Reading Book for European Beginners*'.

Dr Carrol wrote in 1855 the earliest Tamil book on algebra. David Solomon published the earliest Tamil book on geometry called "*Settrakanitam*".

Charles Xavier wrote *Cativilakkam* in 1857, a Valuable book to probe into the anthrophological aspects of South India. Mrs Muller wrote *parancoti* and *Kirupai*, Rev.T. Foulkes translated the 'Civa *Prakasa Kattalai* and *Cacivarnapotam* by Tattuvarayar a work of the 17th century.

Gover had his work "The folk songs of Southern India' published in 1871 We have given Gover his due credit fo opening up this field of Folk songs research in South India Gover says "the Dravidian people posses one of the noblest-literatures from moral point of view, the world has seen Gover talks of about a popular drama of his day called. Taciltar Natakam, which, he says like other contemporary dramas was "dreadfully long".

Gover has included as folk songs Pattinattal Patal, Civa Vakkiyar and Pattira Kiriyar-which have used the folk rhythm but are expressions of a deep philosophy Here Gover has mistaken them for folk songs.

In 1852 *Dictionarium Tamulico-Latinum* by Dr. Gury S J. was printed Dr. Gury says in his preface that he makes allusions to the paragraph numbers of Beschi's grammar of common Tamil. He makes use all the words of Beschi's dictionary of common Tamil and omits all the phrases since they used by other authors. He used all the words of *Caturakarati* and Rottler's *Tamil-English Dictionary*. So it came about that the words of common Tamil and High Tamil which

Fr. Beschi had described in two separate works were gathered in the same Dictionary.

Henry Moris of Madras Civil Service wrote a Tamil book called " *History of India for the use of Schools*" and this book was printed in 1878. In 1830 Dr. Schmidt wrote in Tamil " *History of the World*". David Sinclair-a fellow of the Madras University, wrote *Intuteca Carittara Caracankarakam*, which was printed in 1887.

Dr. Hoole wrote " *The Lady's Tamil Book*" and "*The Book of Common Prayer*" (in Romanised Tamil the corresponding English version was also included). In the latter work was included "An Anglo-Tamil Grammar and Vocabulary".

Another very interesting book published in 1835 in "*Historical sketeh of the Kingdom of Pandyas, Southern Peninsula of India*" by Horace Hayman Wilson, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford. One half of the page contains the English version and the other vertical half contains the corresponding Tamil version.

Dr.E. Hultzsch in 1890 published a book called "*South Indian inscriptions, Tamil and Sanskrit from Stone and Copper* Plate Edicts "This work had several volumes corresponding to the dates of his collection. Robert Sewell wrote " *A Chronological History of South India*" in the year 1880-81. His most important and well known work is the history of "*A Forgotten Empire-Vijayanagar*" printed towards the close of the 19th century.

Rev. Dr. John in 1801 wrote "*A Summary Account of the Life and Writings of Avviyar-An Tamil Female Dhilosopher*"

He translated Avvai's '*Atticuti*' '*Kavi Ulukkam*' and *Konra Ventan*'. The work in Tamil is in alphabetical order which Dr. John calls "The Golden Alphabet" of the Tamils.

C. Przikryl S.J. is also believed to have written a work on Tamil grammar. Male was the author of the article"Sandhi in Tamil Grammar".

Teron Loomis wrote in 1868 "The steam and the steam Engine" and F. Pennyturaisani wrote in 1888. "*Cataranttaiyal Vilakkam*". Rev. J.P. Ashton wrote in Tamil "*English Grammar for Tamil youths*" with questions and exercises. Another work was to teach French and Latin in Tamil to the native. *(1) Piranci lakkana Nurcurukkam* (Franch and Latin ilakkana Nururukkam (Latin) former was illustrated profusely and had Tamil letters indicating numbers. The book on sewing has many English words written in Tamil without being translated.

J. Townshend Fowler wrote "Discipline and Instruction" which was translated into Tamil in 1885. This work of five chapters explain in detail the qualities of a teacher, methods of handling classes, teaching, conducting examination and general instructions. George Forrest published in 1887 in Tamil '*A Hand Book of Old Gymnastics*'.

Australia

Australia is about 29,67,909 square miles and its capital is Canebbara. The mother-tongue of more than a majority of the Australians is English. It appears Tamils had contacts with the Australians since the ancient period.

Geographically Lemuria extended from the Indian ocean to the Himalayan mountains and the Buryat steppes. It may be that Australia and Australian studies are also linked up with Lemuria.

Dravidian, Australian Similarities

The first student of Australia were struck by the similarity between the Australian aborigines and the dark skinned Dravidians. How could the likeness be explained? The forefathers of the aborigines could not have migrated from India to Australia across the Indian ocean in fragile boats or on rafts. A hypothesis claimed that since the Australians are not listed among the peoples descended from the sons of Noah they, like the American Indians, were created by God separately. The Australians in Australia, the Red Indians in the Newworld and were settled for good on those lands.

Anthropologists and ethnographers are still carrying on a heated debate about the Dravidian and Australian similarities. Some find them merely superficial, others believe the Australians are the original stock and still others think that the Indian sub-continent was the birth place of the Australians.

Tamil Language Contact

The relation between the Dravidian and Australian languages is aiso still open to debate. As far back as in 1847

the Australian scholar J.C. Prichard argued that there is a kinship between the Australian languages and the Tamil languages. About a century ago another Australian scholar william Bleek showed that the Australian and Dravidian languages have a similar structure. Since then, much has been written about this. A monograph published in 1963 '*On the History and Structure of the Australiyan languages*' by N.M. Holmer of Lund, Sweden, shows how the grammar and phonetics of the Dravidian and Australian languages coincide.

A chappel says that in Australian Dralukmila Saponangova aborigines language we find many Tamil words. These aborigines live in Nallar bar plains in Western Australia. And these people had contact with Dravidians approximately 30,000 years ago. May be when 'Kumarikandam was swallowed by the sea, Australia was separated and isolated in the south. Famous Bharathanatyam Dancer Padma Subramanyam observes that she found many Tamil words in the language used by Pakloliar aporingines of Meribourne. For e.g. words like *Mutti (Muzhankal) Erradu (Erukiradu) Minnal Pambu, Mahavu Neeru* are common to both the languages. Other Dravidian language words found in Australian languages *Gangai (Aaru), Tambulam, Veerilai, Vazhudunigkaai, (kattirikkai), Maadangam (Yanai), Gajam(yaanai) Baanam (Ambu). Lingami (Kandu)* etc.

But this does not provide sufficient grounds for asserting that the languages are related. The coincidence may be purely superficial. Linguistic and anthropological data are not enough to assert or deny that the Australians and Dravidians are related. What do the archaeologists say? Excavations carried out in recent years in Australia, India, Pakistan and SriLanka have enabled scientists to study many stone age

cultures and have revealed an indisputable resembalance between Australian, Hindustani and South Indian Stone implements. Once again the same question arises, does this resemblance mean there is a relationship or purely coincidental.

Similar Customs And Practices

Here ethnography, sister of archaeology comes to our aid. Every School boy knows that the boomerang is one of the most typical attributes of Australian Culture. Yet few people besides ethnographers know that at the end of the last century the boomerang was found among the tribes of Southern India, and that these tribes spoke languages belonging to the Dravidian family.

Other disciplines too come to our aid. The Dravidian society is a matriarchical society. Hence maternal and uncle is given much importance especially headship. Likewise Head ship and importancc is given to maternal uncle among the Australian aborigines, Tropriánders of Melanesia. This uncle has control over his sister's children education, etc Another popular custom among the Dravidians is to marry mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's son or daughter. We find similar practices among the Australian aborigines as for e.g. among Kariara, of western Australis.

We also find practices similar to the Dravidian caste-structure among the Australian aborigines Chola race is conssidered as Surya race (Sun's race). Australian aborigine also consider themselves as Suryarace, (Use sun as family symbol) We find racial similarities between South Indian aboriginals Malaivedar, Kurumbar, Chozhar, Pazhayar of Palani Hills, and Adi Dravidas and the Australian aborigines.

Planting and growing paddy, betel leaves, sugarcane etc. weaving clothes from cotton, making jaggery from Sugarcane

training elephants, using *KumKum* and yellow (Manjal), offering betel leaves and betel nut, worshipping pipal tree and Circumambulating with reverence this tree for begetting childrens during menses period keeping out of doors and not touching others, protecting one self from evil eye which causes sickness etc, preparing calendar having the movement of the moon as the basis, Burying the dead. placing the dead body in terra-cotta jars and burying, worshipping ancestors-are some of the practices common to both Tamils and English speaking race. These aborigines also had stories about animals, Jataka stories, Panchatantra stories. and Itopadesa stories. Naga Worship. Naga Kanni, tortoise, Makarai fish, Crocodile, Hanuman (7) Vinapaka etc animal worshi pand also Sivalinga worship, Kurmavatarra, Maccha *avatara*. Varaga *ayatara* are also found originating among the Australian aborigines.

A Common Land Of Origin

Where, then, was the original home of the Dravidian and the Australians? Although not a single discipline has enough facts as yet to declare with certainly that these people are related, all the sciences dealing with man-ethnography archaeology, linguistics and anthropology-possess facts that indicate they had a common land of origin. Information gleaned from different sciences combines to provide fairly convincing evidence that these people now separated by the Indian ocean were once related. Consequently, it is only natural to ask where the common cradle of the inhabitants of Southern India, Sri Lanka and Australia was situated.

Few scholars nowadays believe that Australia was the birth place of the Dravidians, to say nothing of man in general as some anthropologists maintained at the beginning

of this century. Most now think that the Australians originated in the old world or rather in Asia, to be more precise in the Country that lie south of the Himalayas.

But could this 'South Asian centre' have been preceded by a still more ancient centre that now lies on the floor of the Indian ocean?

In 1931 the eminent Soviet ethnographer A. olotaryov used oceanographic and geological data in an attempt to solve the Australian riddle? There is a resemblance between the inhabitants of Southern India and Anstralia, he said, because the Iudian Sub continent and Australia were at one time much closer to each other but later the continents drifted apart, until the Indian ocean lay between the Australians and the Dravidians. Zolotaryov based his deductions on Wegeners theory, which was then popular.

But the opposite hypothesis, also oceanographic and ethnical may prove to be the correct one. According to this hypothesis, until the end of the Ice Age there were land bridges between India and Australia that enabled tribes of primitive men to communicate. Such bridges could explain why the Dravidian and Australian lauguages are cognate They would also explain other relationships that anthropology ethnography and archaeology have discovered Help in solving these problems which these sciences face may come from oceanography and marine geology, which are now concentrating on a study of the Indian ocean.

Australia's Immigration Policy Towards Tamils

Australia is a country of white Europeon immigrants, who lived with the aborigions, who were living fnr 40,000 years in this continent. These white Europeans considered immi-

gration as the main medium to increase population, even though the charecteristically high ratio of male migrants redu: ced potential for natural increase.

White Australia Policy

A salient feature of Australians immigration history, which it shares with nearby Newzealand, has been the preference shown for immigrants from the British 'homeland' Govern ments. Both colonial before 1901 and federal thereafter actively sought British migrants, and especially encouraged their entry during periods of high labour demand by providing financial assistances with passage costs. Non-British immigrants entered Australia during the nineteenth century including many thousands of Chinese during the gold rushes, but on terms much less favourable than those applying to Britons. After Federation of the Australian Colonies in 1901, trade, defence and development policies were closely, almost inextricably, linked to the United kingdom. Long-standing fears of invasion by nearby Asian populations only confirmed the Australian Government's determination to strengthen the British connection. Indeed nearly total exclusion of Asians as immigrants gave birth to what became widely known as the 'White Australia' policy.

Asians Too Are Admitted

Until the mid – 1960s successive Australian Governments were firmly opposed to immigration of non-Europeans. Their position altered slightly during 1960s when, in response mainly to sustained criticism by some Asian countries concerning Australia's policies, and that other main receiving Countries altered theirs, the Australian Government admitted for permanent settlement a small number of highly qualified and professional workers from Asian Countries. This slight con-

ession (though it should be acknowledged that Australia had also made a major contribution to the training of Asian students in its Universities and Colleges) become the first step in a remarkably rapid and significant change in immigration policy. At first, the concession was seen by many critics as little more than Australia's contribution to the brain-drain from developing Countries, but following a number of further concessions, especially during the term of office of the Labour Government between 1972 and 1975. the so called 'White Australia' policy was all but abolished. By the mid 1970s any foreigner, whatever his origin, who had skills required by Australia's economy, a specific job offer and could speak English, would be assured of acceptance for permanent settlement.

Why This Change

The reasons why immigration policy was changed so quickly and so readily are not easily identified. Criticism of the white Australia policy by Asians, and the embarrassment that the policy was causing Australian diplomats serving in Asian countries, certainly contributed, as did changes in the immigration policies of the Unitad States and Canada Of perhaps even greater significance was that trade between Australia and some Asian countries increased rapidly after the United Kingdom joined the European Economic eommunity. Indeed, by the end of the 1960s Japan had replaced the United Kingdom as Australia's main trading partner. Many influential businessmen in Australia believed that the exploitation of trade potential in Japan and in rapidly growing ASEAN countries could be thwarted by an immigration policy which discriminated against Asians.

Economic Migrants And Multi Culturalism

Australia has also yielded to the pressure of economic recession. Recent annual rates of unemployment and infla-

tion of around 10 percent have led not only to reductions in annual intake of immigrants but also to higher priority being accorded family-reunion migrants. Economic immigrants are required to possess skills in short supply and preferably to have pre arranged employment which, incurrent economic conditions, is not easy to achieve. No formal ethnic restrictions are imposed on potential immigrants; indeed, current annual intakes contain a large proportion of immigrants from nearby Asian countries, including upto 14,000 refugees. Between 1976 and 1981, the number of persons in the Australian population who had been born in Asia increased by over 1,06,000.

By 1983 when the Liberal Government was defeated family reunion had not only become the major category but Asia was rapidly becoming the dominant source of origin. Rates were also high for persons born in India, Malaysia and the Philippines, most of whom had entered Australia as economic migrants after the mid 1960s. As a result of recent policy changes there has been a significant increase in Asian born settler arrivals (nearly 40 percent of all arrivals in 1985 and a corresponding decline in the contribution of settlers born in the United Kingdom and Ireland. (only 12 percent of arrivals in 1985). Thus Australia's migrant intake interms of persons of Asian origin, new looks very much like that of Canada and the United States.

After three years of residence in Australia newcomers are eligible, indeed are encouraged, to become naturalized upon which occasion they become fully franschised for federal, state and local Government elections. Despite these provisions, many migrants have , neither become naturalized when eligible, nor thereafter participated in political proce-

sses, eventhough voting at federal and State elections in Australia is compulsory. However political participation is identified as a key issue in overcoming structural inequalities surrounding minority adaptation. Support is given to the view that for migrants to obtain life changes not just a changing life style, there must be involvement with competion, power and conflict.

In the early post war years policies were rigidly paternalistic and assimilationist. Newcomers were told they were lucky to be in the Country, and were expected to become incorporated and absorbed in the Australian way of life as soon as possible (Jayasuriya, 1983) Jayasuriya argues that after the mid 1960s, governments supported a milder form of adapptaion, which signalled greater tolerance of cultural differences and diversity of life styles. It was akin to the melting-pot process identified for many years as describing the United States experience. With the election of a Labour government in the early 1970s, however, migrants were encouraged to cultivate that cultural differences in order to restore their self-esteem and self-identity. This led quickly to the adoption of the new policy of multiculturism.

Migration Of The Tamil Elites

Hence Australia is a vast continent ready to receive immigrants especially after its changing immigration, eventhough less prejudiced, outlook. Its immense riches tempts all to migrate and settle, including the Tamil intelligentsia. Not all Tamils can be accepted. Only a talented few, including Malaysian and other world Tamils, are welcome and who fit in with the liberal broad based policy of white Australia. Tamils too adjust with this host country's ways of thinking and hence we notice a new cultural outlook is emerging in

Australia and Newzealand. Even Tamils from Pacific islands closer to Australia and Newzealand especially the educated well qualified able bodied elites have started migrating and settling in Australia and Newzealand. These Tamils sought admission in those Countries, Universities and are welcome to advance their educational interests. Hence Tamils are gradually settling in Australia, eventhough their numbers are onlv insignificant compared to the Tamils in other white territories. A few of the educated elites even married local white girls and desire equal racial status.

Tamils Of Australia

Today on the Western Australian parts alone there are more than 5000 Tamils. We also find after the recent Sri Lankan troubles, many Sri Lankan Tamils, especially the educated ones, have migrated to Australia. It appears more than 500 Sri Lankan refugees have migrated to Australia around 1984-1985 period (S. Guy De Fontgalland, 303. Likewise after the recent Col.Rabuka's Coupd' tat in Fiji' many Tamils, especially the educated ones like the Doctors and engineers, have migrated to and are still migrating to Australia and Newzealand.

In Perth city alone there are more than 500 Tamils. In fact in the Perth Radio daily for a few minutes Tamil *Bhakti* songs are broadcast. In the Brisbane Road in Perth, String Mayo G-Berggett has established a 'Tamil illam' (Tamil Home). In the West Australian Tamil Association we find 85 Tamil families have become members.

Likewise a Tamil Sangam was established in Sydney in 1972. Dr. Rajendran and Mrs. Rajeswari Rajendran are taking active part in this Association. Tamil house wives of Sydney

have joined together and have started 'India Nunkalai Kazhagam' (Indian Fine Arts Society) in 1988. Here they teach Dance, music including instrumental music. Infact they try to preserve and promote Tamil culture. They are thus running this Saturday School. Probably more than 50 Tamil familes are there here in Sydney. A shop in Sydney helps them also in keeping alive and promoting this social contact among the Tamils. Former Ministers like Tirunavukkarasu, Sri Lankan Siva Sittambaram have come and addressed this Sydney Tamil Association. This Association is not trying to get Government aid. Thanks to the efforts of Sydney Tamil Sangam Tamil is taught in Stratifield Public School, Sydney, since 1980. Likewise in a place known as Ashfield also, thanks to the efforts of Some Tamils, Tamil is taught. In the beginning stages these teachers used Tamilnadu Text book Society's books. Nowadays they are using Tamilvasagam (Ist to VIth class books published in Singapore. Sydney Tamil Association is bringing out a magazine known as *'Santhippu'*. And this Association celebrates all important Tamil festivals like Tamil New Years Day, Pongal. etc.

Tamils are basically religious minded people. Wherever they go they carry along with them their faith, their gods, their Temples and their scriptures. Therefore it is not surprising to see a Perumal Temple in Australia.

We should not however forget the fact that the number of Tamils living in Australia are only a few thousand. Some of them occupy high positions and work as Professors, Lecturers, Engineers, Doctors etc. And these few Tamils, in the midst of their busy work schedule, devote time to preserve and promote Tamil Culture in a Country, where they don't have enough opportunities to patronise and promote them. Hence they deserve our attention, appreciation and support

Newzealand

Australia and Newzealand are the only Countries in the region of Asia and the Pacific which accept significant numbers of immigrants for permanent settlement. Both Countries were colonized by European settlers who displaced indigenous peoples and, in due course established wealthy economies based mainly on the exploitation of the rich agricultural and mineral resources. Indeed, Newzealand's 3.17 million people live in a country which, according to their Government, has little absolute poverty and one of the highest per capita incomes in the region.

SusTained Immigration

After 1840 Newzealand was annexed by the British Government. The British settlers, separated from their homeland in one of the most isolated countries on earth, understandably encouraged others of their countrymen to join them. In this they were supported by successive Governments, which made sustained immigration from the United Kingdom a central plank in their political platforms. Despite some diversity in sources of immigrants after the Second World War, the British 'core' culture comprises 80 to 85 percent of Newzealand's population, and the Polynesian (including Maori) people only 7 to 10 percent. Other Europeans and Asians account for the remaining 5 to 10 percent (Data of 1979).

Newzealand's post 1945 migration experience can be conveniently divided into two periods, separated by 1974/75 when the Government introduced major policy changes which effectively ended what had been the virtual exemption from immigration control traditionally enjoyed by persons of

British birth. The domination of intakes by British migrants lasted for thirty years during which only relatively small numbers immigrants come from other countries including India.

1974 75: Turning Point for Asian Migration

The financial year 1974/75 was a Watershed in Newzealand's immigration history. The United Kingdom's entry into the European community had seriously affected Newzealand's export market and also awakened new interest in the scope and shape of immigration policy. In a major reappraisal of objectives, the Government acknowledged that the ease with which British immigrants had been able to enter Newzealand had restricted its control over both numbers and qualifications of migrants. Henceforth, the government declared, immigration would be restricted to persons whose skills were most in demand and therefore least likely to exacerbate inflation. In announcing new guidelines, the Prime Minister of Newzealand also stated that his government would admit in reasonable numbers immigrants who could make a worthwhile economic or cultural contribution and would adapt to Newzealand's way of ilfe. The high priority accorded to British migrants would be replaced by more rational and equitable criteria for the selection of immigrants from what ever source. The Assisted Passage Scheme, which had greatly facilitated immigration from the United Kingdom, was abolished.

Furthermore, growing political and trade relations with neary Asian countries had led Newzealand governments after the mid-1960's to admit for settlement Asians who held professional or comparable technical qualifications, who could speak English and who had obtained specific appointment in

Newzealand. Intakes from India, Malaysia and Hongkong were especially high. Thus persons born in India constituted 0.12% of the total Newzealand population in 1945 and 0.20.% in 1976. (excludes persons of unknown or unspecified birth place). These significant changes in policy towards immigration from the Pacific islands and Asia, argued the Newzealand Government, reflected changed public attitudes towards non-Europeans. Presumedly, the chosen Pacific islanders and Asians would henceforth make "a worthwhile economic or cultural contribution and would adapt to Newzealand's way of life". By 1976 Newzealand had over 25,000 pacific islanders, including Fijians, representing 2.3 per cent of Newzealand's population.

We do not have clear evidence about the early migration of the Tamils to Newzealand. In 1856 in Newzealand a ship-bell with Tamil letters engraved on it was discovered. Walking over red hot charcoal or white hot stones in honour of goddess Draupati, an ancient South Indian custom, seemed to have travelled to Newzealand also. In Newzaland the rite was formerly widely in vogue, but has died out within living memory presumably because of the restrictions of missionaries. The rite was performed to add prestige and renown to the religions functions. It was called Uma (ovens) at which the stones were heated. Especially after the implementation of the new immigration policy of 1974-75 Tamilians began to enter Newzealand more and more.

As a result in 1985 Newzealand Tamil Society was established at Wellesley Street, Auckland. The President of the Society is Dr. V. Tharmapalan, Vice President Mr. S. K. Thurai Sundaram and Secretary Mr. M. Mahendran.

The aim of this Society is to look after the welfare of the Tamils in Newzealand and to promote Tamil language and culture of Tamils who have come from South India, SriLanka, Singapore, Malaysia and Fiji. The Society had already made arrangements to start teaching Tamil language for the new generation of Tamils. In order to proceed with this project, the Society needs Tamil books and Tamil materials including audio and video cassettes, especially teachings materials that would suit the needs of the Tamil language only probably for around 3 or 4 hours during weekends in a week. The Newzealand Government has accepted Tamils as an ethnic group in the Newzealand Society and had requested this Newzealand Tamil Society to participate in the for 150th years of celebrations which falls took place in 1990 for organising cultural displays and exhibitions.

France and other French Tamils

French Tamils may be divided into two groups (a) Those who live in France (b) and those who live in the former French Colonies. The total number of Tamils who live in the French Colonies are equal to the total number of Tamils who live in Pondicherry. But in these parts there are no Tamil language Schools.

36 countries were former colonies of France. Of these in 29 countries Tamils have settled (1) Mauritius (2) Reunion (3) Seychelles (4) Martinique (5) Guaduloupe (6) Surinam (French Guiyana) (7) New Caledonia (8) Tahiti (9) Dominic (10) French Canada (11) Kampuchea (Cambodia) (12) Viet-tnam. (13) Laos. In addition in the French African States also Tamils live in (1) Algeria (2) Tunisia (3) Morrocco (4) Jibuti (5) Nigeria (6) French Guinea (7) Camouroon (8) Ivory coast (9) Congo (10) Senegal (11) Central African Republic (12) Mali (13) Chad (14) and Somalia. We have discussed separately about the Tamils of Mauritius, Reunion, Seychelles and Surinam.

To these former French Colonies, Tamils migrated from Pondicherry, Karaikal. Yanaon, Cuddalore, Nagapattinam and Madras. And these Tamils, who migrated, know only French and not Tamil. Many joined the French army. Because the French army men were not prohibited to marry. In addition they were given fat salary; working hours less. Hence the army men had more leisure and holidays. Further free educational facilities for children, scholarship and promotion were also given. Generally the Tamils worked in French Tamil schools. Colleges, Overseas depts, Army and Government Offices.

Martinique

Martinique is situated 15,000 miles away from India. Nearly one hundred fifty years ago, French Tamils went to Martinique In 1849 6,506 Tamils went to work in Sugar cane plantations in Martinique and 5006 went to Guadulou-pe. On 6-5-1853, 318 Tamils from Karaikal, on 4-12-1862. 402 and between 1864 and 1865, 1400 went to Martinique, On 19-4-1857 in Martinique 6032 labourers after entering into 5 years or 10 years contract worked in 283 offices. Bet-ween 1859 and 1889, 4656 Tamils returned to their homeland. In 1882 around 30,000 Tamils went to these islands. These labourers who worked in sugar cane plantations were called as 'coolies Tamils born in mixed marriages were called as "chops collies". Fortde France is the p Capital of Martinique.

For the sake of education Martin·que Tamils became Christians. They were taught French language and Catholic reli-gion. Second generation Tamils began to speak French in their homes. Their habits, behaviour and culture changed. Even their names, when pronounced and written, underwent changes. Today there are 14,000 Tamils who are born to Tamil parents. More than 10,000 Tamils live here for more than 100 years. Eventhough many of them have become Catholics, majority of them still follow Tamil customs like tying *Tali* during marriage ceremony, doing Aradana to Iy-yanar Statue, celebrating *Thai Pongal* festival and *Deepavali.* Formerly they celebrated Madurai Veeran, Seethakshmi and Kaliamman festival. On the day of celebration all of them wear white clothes. Every year Mariamman temple festival is celebrated. During this festival goat and cock would be sacrificed. Some of them even today worship Amman. In 1930s they staged *Theru Koottu*, Tamil dances, Ramar, Des-

ingu Raja, Hiranyakasipu, Harischandran dramas. Some of the popular names of these Tamils are Lucian Velayi, Fernand Ponnan, Albert Marimuttu, Vicent sayapu, Ervest Muthusammy, Mouniyan, Mcothulatchmi Seenamma etc.

Guaduloupe

There are sixty thousand Tamils in Guaduloupe. Like the Martinique Tamils these Tamils. also have forgotten Tamil language They speak French. Negro White-Tamils mixed marriages are common. Tamils live here at Bessadara city, and Capetha city. Their ancestors came from Manchakuppam, Cuddalore, Tarangampadi, Nagapattinam, Chandranagore, Pondicherry and Karaikal.

We don't find Tamil caste structure among them. They don't have sarees. Only Some desire to wear sarees. Tamil girls wear gowns. Some have married Negro girls. Some of them own sugar cane, banana plantations. Some of them work in the army and some work as engineers. French knowing Tamils earn a lot. Some Tamils are rich. Some of them are also active politicians.

Some of the Tamil words used by the Guaduloupe Tamils *Veppal Veppilai Mooldani (Milagu chedi)*, *Kulampoo (Kuzhambu)* etc. Through Video, Tamil films have entered Guaduloupe. French-Tamil books on Tamil eulture etc are sent to Guaduloupe by the Pondicherry Government.

We find here Mariamman, Nagore, Meera temples. Kali Murugan and Vinayagar temples are also found, *Madurai Veeran vizha*, fire walking festival, *Marriamman vizha*, *Deepavali* and *Pongal* are all celabrated. The Priests here speak French language. During Mariamman festival we can hear

French songs and see *Therukootu*. Before 1962, during the month *Thai*, Pongal was celebrated in Carribean French Tamil areas. But when sugar cane plantations were affected this celebration was stopped.

Some Tamils also live in New Caledonia where a majority speak French. Here and in Tahiti, if we examine the names of some of the families, we can trace their Tamil ancestry. E.g. Rayappan, Saminathan, Verrasammy etc.

France

The total area of France's 2,10,039 sq. miles. Its capital is Paris. In this country the French, Italians, Portuguese, Algerians etc live. They speak French, Flemish and Spanish.

French came to Tamilnadu in the eighteenth century. They established their trade posts especially in the coromandel coast and were busy fishing for opportunities to establish their sway over Tamilnadu. However they were ultimately eliminated from the main portion of modern Tamilnadu by the Britishers. They managed however to rule over some parts of Tamilnadu. Adjacent territories from Pondicherry, a sea port. Hence the French showed keen interest in learning Tamil and a few of them carefully mastered this ancient and rich Dravidian language. For example, Swami Castedt. Swami Ferdrand, Jean Jacques Tessier and Thomas Tiboitier wrote books on South India and South Indian religion. After their pioneering efforts in 1761 a translation of *Tirukkural* in French was published. Between 1778 and 1783 Jegan Palguvin published French translations of *Kural*, *Naladiyar* and *Needivenba*. In 1788 a French translation of *Tamil Bhagavatham* by Mariadoss Pillai appeared.

J.P. Rottler (1749-1836)

J.P. Rottler is one of the famous Tamilologist of the early period. He will be always remebered for his valuable Dictionary. He was born at Strassburg (Lower Rhine France) in June 1749. In 1830 he prepared a Tamil-Englsih Dictionary which was divided into four parts. Four years later in 1834 the first part of this dictionary was printed in Vepery. While the second part was being printed, its author Rottler died. Among Rottler's papers after his death there was a French-Tamil Dictionary in manuscript form preserved by a Missionary from Madura called Fr. De. Bourgess. It was only in 1836-37 that this second part of his dictionary was published. The complete work had 1,425 pages. It looks as if this compiles has drawn much form Beschi's *Caturakarati*. Rottler seems to have made use of De-Bourgess 'Dictionary, Beschi' Manuscript Dictionary Malabar-English".

Rottler has given a detailed list of the words, how they are used and how they are used employed in literature after giving the meaning. Often he has used the words in sentences to bring out the meanings more clearly. Rottler has notified sanskrit formations which are used in Tamil Grammatical significances of the words are also revealed. A good dictionary should state in a clear and precise way the pronounciation of words. Rottler has done this. He has observed that certain words have been borrowed from other languages, for example Hindi. In his list, he has included words which were grately prevalent during his day. This will help the student to construct the history of words. He also translated into Tamil the English prayer book.

Ariel

M. Ariel, a French man has translated the *Kural*. Only parts of it have been translated in to French thus taking

this Tamil work to the French people. Ariel speaking on the greateness of the *Kural* says "The master piece of Tamil literature" the *Kural* is one of the highest and purest expressions of thoughts. That which above all is wonderful in the *Kural* is a fact that its author addresses himself without regard to castes, peoples or beliefs to the whole community of mankind. Ariel has rendered service to Tamil by taking one of the greatest literary works to the French people.

Ariel has also translated Avvaiyar's teachings. He collected many Tamil manuscripts. He wrote two leanred articles on the *Kural* in the "Journal Aslatiqus" in 1848 and 1859 containing translations of many interesting portions and thus drew considerable attention in France.

Other French Tamilologists

In 1867 some Tamil *cheyyuls* (poems) translations into French appeared. Adam, a French judge from Karaikal, translated into French *Aithichudi*, *Konrai Vendan*, *Vertri Verkai Mudurai*, *Nalvazhi*. Leo St. John translated the poems of Karaikal Ammaiyar. *Kural* some parts of *Kamba Ramayanam Needhi Ilakkiyam* were translated in French by Gnanatyagu, a French Judge of Karaikal Ariel translated *Kural* and *Tirukkovvaiyar*. Translations of Tamil Ilakkanam, Ananda Rangam's dairy appeared in French in 1894. It is believed a copy of *Kamba Ramayanam*, was kept in his library by Nepolean. A *History of Mauritius Tamils* has been written in French by Rama Sooryamoorthy. *Tirukural* and *Needhi literature* have been translated into French by M. Sangelee.

Julien Vinson

Julien Vinson, a learned French official at Karaikal learnt Tamil and later at the university at Paris worked as a teacher in the Oriental Department.

"*Civakacintamani*" which was edited and printed by Dr U.V. Swaminatha Iyer reached him After a perusal, Vinson was appreciative and he wrote in Tamil to Dr. Swaminatha Iyer congradulating him on his efforts. Later, letters to him time and again repeated that the unpublished works in Tamil should be printed into French. He translated into French concisely "*Civakacintamani*" and had a word of praise for Dr. U.V. Swaminatha Iyer in it. Vinson to benefit his students wrote in French a book on Tamil Grammar. He also translated a portion of the *Kural* into French. He has written several valuable papers on Dravidian literature and language for the "*Revue Orientale*".

Julien Vinson's Tamil grammar in French is called "*Manuel De La Langue Tamoule, Grammaire, Textes Vocabulare*". It is interesting that Vinson mentions in this work that Tamil has fourteen vowels and twenty six consonants. He has analystically probed into the origin of words.

Institute Franca is de Indologie

This institute was established in Pondicherry in 1954. After its establishment it published French translation of *Tiruppavai, Tirumurugatru padai.* In addition it published books about ancient Tamil medicine, southeast Asia Tamil Culture, A comparative study of Dravidian grammar etc. Further it conducted research on Ayurveda medicine, Saiva Agemas, Pallava temple structure etc It had also published books such as *Sangam Tamil Dictionary, Tamilnadu's Agemas, Tamilnadu's plants, Paripaddal's* french translation. Doctor Jean Filliozat is in charge of this institute Francais De' Indologie. He is assised by Dr. Kro.

Manimegelai and *Anandarangam Pillai's dairy* have been translated into French by Julian Vincent Silambu. Jules *Bloc*

has written a book on Dravidian Language Structure. In Paris there is a big library know as Bibilothek Nakiyanev where they have collected Tamil Palm leaves manuscripts. Old Tamil works translated into French are also kept in this Library. *Gremmatica Damulica*, a Tamil grammar book in Latin and a Bibliography of Tamil works in Latin are also kept in this Library. In addition we find also *Tamil Latin Dictionary* published in 1845 and *Uttarkanda of Ramayana* published in 1815 in this Library.

The Third Internationl Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies was held in Paris, France. The Chairman of the Conference was Doctor Jean Filliozat. Bharati's Centenary was celebrated by the Tamil Sangam in Paris. In all there are 17 Tamil Associations in Paris. Recently many SriLankan Tamils have migrated and settled in France, These SriLankan Tamils have organised an Association known as SriLankan Tamil Movement. Tamil broadcasts also can be heard from Paris.

Sorobone University

A separate research centre for South Indian languages was established in Sorobone University in 1977. Tamil is also taught in this University. Works of K.V. Jagannathan (KIVAJA), Janakiraman, Jeyakanthan have been translated into French. There is scope for learning Tamil in Paris University, where research on Dravidian studies is conducted. In addition some Tamil works are being translated into French.

Tamil University Vice-chancellor Dr. S. Agesthialingom went to Paris in 1988 and he gives the following information:- Many institutions in France show interest in Indian education. But only one or two institution and a few scholars show interest in South Indian education, particularly

Tamil education. The institutions which are interested in Tamil education (1) Eastern languages Culture National institute (2) Paris University (3) Sorobone University.

Eastern Languages Culture National Institute

Eastern languages cultural National Institute is directly under the supervision of the Education Department of the French Government. This institute was started in the 17th century in 1669. Language like Hindi, Tamil, Sinhalese, Bengalee, Telugu, Urudu are taught here. Infact more than 100 languages are taught in this University. Not only language, but also Fine arts and other aspects of culture are taught. More than 500 teachers are working in this Institute. More than 100 students are learning Indian languages. A total of 32 student are learning Tamil. More than 50 percent of these are French students. Some of the students have come from France and Mauritius. Some of them are children of the Tamil citizens living in France.

Mrs. Sethupathy Elizabeth (a French lady married to a SriLankan Tamil), Mudiyappanathan and Kasi (part time) are teaching Tamil in Paris. Mrs. Sethupathy Elizabeth speaks Tamil fluently and attended the 30 days Introduction to Tamil culture Course conducted by the Department of Tamil Studies in Foreign Countries, Tamil University, Thanjavur in December 1988. These teachers pointed out that good Tamil books are not available; Tamilnadu should help us in securing good books in Tamil. If from Tamilnadu scholarship is given, more French students would come forward to learn Tamil.

In Paris University Dr. Murugaiyyan, is teaching Tamil. A total of 11 students are learning Tamil here. Tamil is taught with linguistic basis. *A Tamil-French Dictionary* is be-

ing compiled. Taking spoken Tamil as a basis, Tamil is taught by using cassettes, video tapes etc. Translation of some works are also undertaken. Students from Reunion and Mauritius have come to study Tamil.

Tamil research project works have been undertaken in Sorbonne University also under the guidence of Prof. Kro, Research is done on Sangam literature, Tamil language and culture. This University, for its research purposes keeps contacts with the institute at Pondicherry.

Indo Asiatic Research Society

Indo Asiatic Research Society was founded in 1960 by Ioati Louisn Demand' Louisn Demand in Paris. Many scholars including Eric Meyer are conducting researeh. A majority are doing research on North India. For example they do research on Folklore, Hinduism etc. Only two or three do research on Tamilnadu. Lady Renich conducted field research in Tirunelveli, Tiruvannamalai and Udayarpalayam for her research project. She has written research papers on Tamil ladies worship of Gods and their impact on society. She is doing research on Tiruvannamalai temples, Saiva Matta and Tamil Zamindari Structure etc.

Pera Jean Resin of Bordak University is also doing research on Tamilnadu. He is married to a French Tamil Lady. He speaks Tamil fluently. He has keen interest in Tamil Research and inspires many to follow in his footsteps.

Tamil Refugees

Tamil refugees from SriLanka have been visiting France since the SriLankan crisis especially SriLankan Tamil re-

fugees migrated to France more than 25000 especially to Paris and Lyons. They were treated tolerably well but found themselves believers in a French speaking land. Their ignorance of French handicap them. Still since they are educated some of them manage to acclimatize to the local environment. However some of them unsettled try to migrate to other parts of Europe, especially to Canada.

Association of Tamil Writers is Europe

(Irropia Tamil Ezhuthallar Onriyum)

This Association was founded in Paris, France in the Tamil month of Vaikasi 1985. It was founded by its present President Thiru M. Arianayagam. Its Secretary is A. Shelluarajah and Treasurer V.A. Jeyakumar. It has branches in Switzerland, West Germany and in London, Great Britain.

This Association's aims are summed up as follows in their publication "*Mannai Thedum Manangkal*"

1) We should spread with love Tamil language everywhere in this universe.

2) We should translate foreign scholars and intellectuals bright works into Tamil.

3) We should publish new good books in Tamil, which should be preserved and remembered by posterity forever.

(and all these three concepts are quoted from Poet Bharathi's famous song "Tenmadura Tamilosai...." P.XIV).

In another work published by this Association "*Nambikkai Narrukkal*". Thiru Ariyanayagam observes that it is not

easy to edit and publish Tamil weekly or monthly in Europe. The earlier efforts in this direction have not materialised except for occasional three or four months experiments. The reason is the number of Tamils who migrate to Europe are either refugees or wage earners and who are not also in sizable number. They may have varied interests but only a few of them have literary interest. And even these few are not able to extend their interest and co-operation for such a task. Hence one of the aims of this Association is to permit individual literary freedom in promoting Tamil language and literature. (9-10).

Its other aims are (1) To promote the expression of all ideas which are censored or prevented from public exposure either in poetry or essay or short story or novel art form (2) To promote with total freedom competition in all literary sphere among world Tamils by conducting seminars and other kind of competitive interests oriented functions and to publish these under the patronage of this Association. (3) To unite all the Tamil writers in Europe (4) To print and popularise the works of these writers of Europe. (5) To translate Tamil literature into Tamil and (6) To collect and preserve for posterity all Tamil works including Tamil journals, magazines etc. published in Europe.

The following are the four Tamil books published by this Association between 1986 and 1989.

1986 *Mannai Thedum Manngkal* (Short Story Collection)

1987 *Doorattu Vidi Velli* (Verse Collection)

1988 *Nambikai Natrukkal* (Short Story Collection)

1989 *Desam Tandiya Nadikal* (Short story collection)

Mannai Thedum Manankal has eleven short stories written by European Tamils, who are not known already to the Tamil short story world. *Nambikkai Natrukkal* is another short story collection which contains ten original Tamil short stories and Tamil translations of two French short stories of Emile Zola and Dino Buzzati. This book contains in it also a short story titled "*Needimangal*" written by Agastyar, a SriLankan Tam l novelist and one who has contributed to the famous 'Kalaimagal'. *Doorattu Vidivelli* is a collection of verses translated from French to Tamil by Tamil poets like Madanarupan, Leenas, Sukumaran and Yasodharan. It contains translations of verses of Victor Hugo. Adrian Miatlev, George Schehadel, Gerard de Nerval. Modern Tamil poets living in West Germany, Switzerland, France, Rome have also contributed Tamil verses to this nice collection

Senegal

Senegal is in West Africa. It was a former French colony where French is spoken by many. In 1979 Tamil was introduced as a second language at Takkar University thanks to the efforts of the President Sengor of Senegal.

Of the 53 African States Senegal was the first African nation to introduce Tamil at the University level. And Senegal was the first former French speaking colony to accept Tamil this way. Eventhough Tamil is taught, still only a few Tamils live in Senegal. Africans and Lebanese learn Tamil in this University. Tamil is taught through the French language. Dr. K.P Aravanan who worked in this University has written a book on *Anthropological studies on the Dravido Africans*. On 2.6.1980 A Tamil culture society was established in Senegal. On every sunday free Tamil language history conversation classes and *Kollam* are taught by this

Culture Society. The aim of this Society is to unite all French speaking Tamils and to promote Tamilnadu's fame through the French language.

We have also Tamil Hindu Temple of Ganesa known as "Sri Manika Vinayakar Alayam" at 122, Rue Oberkamf 75011 Paris, which was built more than six years ago. First on 4-2-1985 on *Thaipusam* day at city University *Mandapa* this Temple began its journey. At present it is located in a different place and the Temple authorities are in search of a permanent abode for the Lord. Daily pajas and other festivals are conducted as per Tamil beliefs.

We have also "Paris Tamilar Kalvi Nilayam" started on 31.8.1986 by nine Tamilians, where Tamil language is taught through English or French medium. Here quite a few students are studying Tamil. This School is run by International Tamil Relations Association.

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West Germany

Germany lies in the centre of Europe, between the Scandinavian countries to the north, the Alpine Countries to the South, the Countries in Atlantic Western Europe and in Continental East Europe. It ranges from the high Southern Alps to the North and Baltic Seas. There are no natural barriers to the west, east and north, which is why Germany has always been a region of migration, seeing the exchange of peoples, cultures, economic, social and intellectual forces and ideas as well as political clashes.

Germany has been divided since the end of World War II. A frontier 1,381 kms long separates the two States in Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany in the West and the German Democratic Republic in the East. The sovereign territory of the Federal Republic of Germany(West Germany) comprises, 2,48,630 sq. km. West Berlin along with ten more States constitute West Germany. In 1982 the Federal Republic and West Berlin were inhabited by 61.5 million people.

Germany and Tamil Literature Since the Advent of the Germans in Tamilnadu

Germans may have come even before the 18th century, when probably the first known contact is recorded. The first known historical contact between Germany and Tamilnadu is through German missionaries like Ziegenbalg. Ziegenbalg is the first known German to have mastered to a large extent Tamil language and hence famous for his pioneering role in creating Tamil cultural contact with Germany as early as 1706. He was not only a Christian missionary

but also a famous Scholar of Tamil literature and Tamil language. His work and other Germans contribution recorded in Prof. K. Meenakshisundaram's book *"The Contribution of European Scholars to Tamil"* is given below:

Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg

Ziegenbalg was born on June 24,1683 at Pulsnitz in Germany. On 9th July 1705, he came as a missionary to Tranquebar, which was then ceded to the Danish East India Com pany by the Tanjore King. He divided the population of Tranquebar into four different classes (1) Malabarians (2) The Portuguese, (3) Mohammedans called Moors; (4) Christian group which was the Roman Catholic native congregation. The first and largest population of course is the native one, whom he calls as "the black brown Malabarians". Here it is necessary to note that the early missionaries were calling Tamils as Malabarians. He says "The Malabarians discussed the same philosophical subjects as the savants of Europe and that they had a regular written law, wherein all theological subjects were treated of and demonstrated". He also realised that Malabarians had only one Supreme God despite their worship of myriad of Gods.

Ziegenbalg's Hard Work To learn Tamil

If Ziegenbalg should attract the non-christians into the Christian fold, the local tongue Tamil had to be learnt. To learn Tamil was not an easy task. Their initial difficulty lay in finding a person who knew Tamil and also some language known to them. After several months they found a malabar school master.•They invited this 70 year old Hindu teacher into their house with his little school. The missionaries 'were anxious to know how the children were taught and to make

their acquaintances with the young people and to learn what they could, for this purpose they were not ashamed of becoming pupils of the Hindu School-master. They sat amidst the young and astonished Tamil students and like them sat on the sand and soon were "writing the artistic, complicated and beautifully formed Tamil letters". The missionaries soon learnt to read, write and pronounce but there was an almost insurmountable obstacle, the aged teacher was unable to translate the words into Portuguese and hence the missionaries were not able to comperhened the meaning of the Tamil words. But help was soon to come. The missionaries learnt that an Indian translator called Aleppa whose mother tongue was Tamil knew and understood Portuguese, Danish, German and Dutch. He was persuaded by Ziegenbalg and his companion to come over to their mission School in 1706. Here he was maintained for nearly two years at a considerable cost Ziegenbalg soon learnt Tamil and with great effort quickly" mastered this difficult language in the remarkably short time of eight months" Aleppa could not teach Tamil grammatically but he explained words and helped them to understand Tamil books. Slowly Ziegenbalg and his friend gained an insight into the difficult grammar. They not only read Tamil manuscripts daily but translated from German into Tamil and vice versa. A native read to them assisting them to catch the correct pronounciation of the Tamil words. Ziegenbalg says, "I choose such books as I should wish to imitate both in speaking and writing. I have had such authors read to me a hundred times, that there might not be a word or an expression which I did not know and could not imitate... .. I have talked diligently with the heathen and executed all my business in their tongue so that now *(1709)* it is as easy to me as my mother tongue and in the last two years I have been enabled to write several books in Tamil". Ziegenbalg almost mastered Tamil and Indians

were awe-struck. They often listened to him breathlessly. He created a great sensation in the Vicinity and the natives marvelled at this European who spoke their language. Now that Ziegenbalg had learnt the local tongue, it was easy to meet and discuss religious topics with the local Indians. Time and again great vistas of religious thinking opened up before him. As a result of those discussions he recognised the profound truths hidden behind the perplexing idol worship and its accompanying rituals. The great spiritual culture of the ancient land impressed him.

Tamii Library of Ziegenbalg

Two years after his arrival in Tranquebar, Ziegenbalg was able to send Lutkens his Tamil Library. These books still in manuscript form are to this day to be seen in Halle. The number of books sent are divided by Ziegenbalg into four groups. The first is a description of 14 books written by himself. Next come 21 books written by Roman Catholic Missionaries ie Papist authors. These missionaries had been on the cast for quite some time and had learnt the language. The third group has about 119 books by Hindus on their religion.

Ziegenbalg had three people to assist him to learn Tamil. One was Aleppa and then there was a native poet and finally a Malabar (Tamil) writer who was to write down all words and expression which Ziegenbalg had not met in other books. Despite the heavy schedule to master Tamil, he did not permit the mission work to suffer.

Malabar Dictionary

With the native writer noting words and expressions began Ziegenbalg's Malabar Dictionary in 1706. During a short

period of two years a collection 20,000 words and expressions was made. There was one column in Tamil characters, another written in Roman type giving the pronounciation and the last column gave the meaning in German. Together words for this Dictionary he read books on history, theology, philosophy, medicine and philogy. Four years later this Lexicon became a mammoth work comprising 40,000 words and expressions It was arranged in the Tamil alphabetical order, till the second letter of the word. The whole work was on *olai* only. In 1719 Ziegenbalg died and in 1726 the Dictionary was copied on paper. Inspite of the efforts later on made by Sartorius, and Gesiter, the Dictionary was not finished.

Other Works

Ziegenbalg then worked on a poetical Dictionary of nearly 17,000 words for which he enlisted the help of experienced Tamil poets. One part had words relating to Gods and heaven and the other words pertaining to man etc. He prepared a German index for it. The Work however was on *olai*. In 1729 the report of Tranquebar mentions that it was there but nothing is heard about it after this.

In 1708 Ziegenbalg began the Tamil translation of the *New Testament*. He completed this work by March 1711. The translation was done from the Greek but he had Latin, German, Portuguese and Dutch bibles at hand, besides various commentaries.

On completing the Tamil translation of the New Testament Ziegenbalg began translations of the books of *old Testament* His early and untimely death left this work incomplete.

The first Tamil book ever printed in Europe (at Halle) was "*Grammatica Damulica*" by Ziegenbalg. Thus he has written a Tamil grammar book in German. He defined the distinction between *Ekara Uyir Ezhuthu* and *Avai Eriya uyir Mey Ehuthukal ke, key* (கெ,கே). Other Tamil books printed in Germany around this time were "*Partheesu Thottam*" "*Gnana Kannadi*" and "*Ummai Krittuvam*". Considering Ziegenbalg writings, we are led to conclude, that until he wrote for a press to Halle there was no press in India Ziegenbalg stands out most conspiciously since he apart from bringing the press to India, had the Tamil letters cut in type, well formed and engraved, to make clearer and easier reading.

Ziegenbalg translated German hymns into Tamil. This was the first hymns book printed in Tamil. It had a collection of 48 hymns and was printed in 1713.

Ziegenbalg also wrote (1) Genealogieder *Malabarischen Godter*. (Genealogy of the Malabarian Gods; Madras, 1867) (2) *das Malabarische Heidenthum* (Malabarian Religion, Amsterdam, 1826) (3) *Kleimere Schriften* (Smaller writings, Amsterdam, 1930 The third work was a translation into German of the Tamil works *Nitivenpa, Konraiventan* and *Ulakaniti*. His main intention in writing these books was make them an eyeopener to the West to show that the Tamils were cultured and dignified.

Ziegenbalg translated and published Martin Luther's preachings as '*Tamil vina-vidai*' (Tamil question and Answer book in Tamil). It is believed to be the first book of its kind in Asian languages published by the Christian Progressive Association. He also translated and arranged in a new order and published "*Tottira Pattalgal*" in 1715. These songs were arranged not only in tune with European music but

also in tune with Tamil music *(pann)*. This is the first bible to come in an Indian language in book form.

Other Germans who Contributed to Tamil Language Growth and Tamil Personality Development in Germany

J. Ch. Breithaupt was born at Dransfeld in Hanover. He came to Tranquebar where he learnt Tamil in the middle of the 18th century. He collaborated with Fabricious in writing the dedication for the *"A Dictionary Malabar and English"* and probably he had a larger share in its compilation.

Johann Philipp Fabricius (1711-1791)

Fabricius was born at Cleeberg near Frankfort on 22. 1.1711. He was both clever and well acquainted with the native tongue Tamil. His lexicographical work has been rightly praised and he was particularly adept at translating the christian hymns into Tamil and till this day they are considered remarkable pieces and used by Christian Congregations. Fabricius and Schwartz had collaborated to translate a hymn.

Fabricius will always be remembered for his *"Malabar English Dictionary"* and for his *Cattiyaveta Pustakam* a Tamil translation of the *old Testament* and for his Tamil translation of the *New Testament* which was translated from Greek. The latter work was printed as a stereotyped edition in 1883.

Regarding the Dictionary, Fabricius and Breithaupt wrote *"A Malabar-and English Dictionary"* wherein the words and phrases of the Tamilian language commonly called by Europeans, the Malabar language are explained in English by the English Missionaries at Madras, printed at Vepery near Madras in the year 1779". This was the first Dictionary to be prin-

ted. It included both literary and common words. This was ntended to help Missionaries and traders. The words and idiomatic phrases together total 9,000. The way the words of spoken Tamil pronounciation in daily use has been followed when colloquial words were given in this book.

Though Fabricius and his collabcratcrs' wcrk is of a small size, it neverthless proved to be an impetus for other missionaries to follow in their work to explore fresh methods in Tamil lexicography.

In 1786 "*A Dictionary of the English and Malabar Language*" was printed at Vepery near Madras. The author's name is not printed. But it is attributed to Fabricius, The pages of this Work are not numbered. This is the first English-Tamil Dictionary which was printed. The Tamil type of this Dictionary is almost identical with that of the "*A Dictionary of Malabar and English*" by Fabricius which propably proves he was the author of the former also.

REV. KarlGraul (1838-1879)

Graul was born at Muegeln in Saxony on Ist January 1838 and studied at Leipzig. This German Scholar also translated the *Kural*. It was published in 1856 both at London and at Leipzig and was rendered into German and Latin. Dr. Pope considered this Work to be a Valuable one, Graul's translation was read by Albert Schweitzer, who later wrote a book on Indian thought and its development in which he had praised the *Kural*. Graul's Latin translation had shown to Westerners that there is apart from Beschi's version another interpretation and his German rendering has taken the Tamil masterpiece to German readers also.

Karl Graul's outstanding work is "*Bibliotheca Tamulica Sive Opera Praecipua Tamuiensium*" The first volume contains the German translation of "*Kaivalyanavanita* "*Pancata capprekarana* and "*Atmapota prakacika*" volume two contains "a fine printing of the Tamil text of *Kaivalyanavanita* and its translation into English" Added to this are a Tamil Glossary and grammatical annotations. Another work assigned to this author is the translation of "*Civananacittiyar*".

The Trauquebar Dictionary printed in 1892 followed Dr. Graul in its classification of verbs according to their conjugational changes. Hence various forms of verbs in their several tenses and moods had to be enumerated.

Grundler

J.E. Grundler, a contemporary of Ziegenbalg, wrote a "*Treatise on the Malabarian Medicus*" What had been accomplished in the medical field by the Tamil is reported in this paper. The translator wished to be of service to European men with it and the manuscript is preserved in the archives of the Mission Library at Halle.

Rev. Charles Theophilus Ewald Rhenius

Rhenius was born in Germany in 1789. Sometime in 1810, he joined the Lutheran Mission in Germany. Two years later in 1812 he was ordained. Later he proceeded to England and then arrived at Madras in 1814. He soon got acquainted with the Tamil language and worked tirelessly for the advancement of Christian converts and for the Christain Population under his care. He arranged for a regular pension for the widows of the mission's workers. This effort of Rhenius in the 19th century is a landmark almost in the

history of the struggle of Indian widows for emancipation. The society he founded to bring relief to widows was called "*Widows Aid Society*".

In 1818 a severe epidemic of Chollera broke out and Rhenius wrote a Tract on it, which was published by the Madras Tract and Book society. This was the first Tamil Tract.

Rhenius had his early education of Tamil under Mukavai Ramanuju Kavirayar His keen intellect was quick to absorb and he soon became fluent. His style in Tamil has arrested the admiring attention of Dr. Pope It was a clear and precise style. Only his prose works are available and we are not sure whether he wrote any poetry. Hymns in Tamil following the English metre were written by Rhenius, Rhenius was considered to be a good and fluent speaker in Tamil.

Rhenius following the traditional methods in Tamil, wrote a book on Tamil grammar called"*A Grammar of the Tamil Language with an Appendix*" He translated the *Gospel of St, Mathew* in 1825 and 10,000 copies were sold out by 1827. In 1831 he translated and published both the *Old and New Testaments.* He also wrote "*Veta Utarana Tirattu*" expounding the Christian principles in a simple way. He also wrote and published a geography book in 1832 known as *Pumicataram.* He wrote also on General knowledge (*Palvakai Tirustantam*).

Ch. Fr. Schwartz (**1726-1798**)

Schwartz was born in Sonnenburg in Brandenburg. He set out for India landing at Cuddalore on 3oth July 1750. He founded the Tanjore Mission and settled at Tanjore in 1778. It is held he wrote a song in Tamil in collaboration with Fabricius and also wrote a dialogue between a Christian

and a Hindu. In the Tanjore Fort, there is a statute of Schwartz and below it a short biography of his, is given.

Schwartz was fluent in Latin, Hebrew, Greek, English, Tamil, Marathi and many other languages. He was an influential personality and he prevailed upon the ruler of Tanjore to gift free food for Christian children and also half of Sunday declared as an optional holiday.

Rev. B. Schultze (1689-1760)

This German missionary landed at Madras on 25th July 1719 and was ordained at Tranquebar in 1720. He began the Madras Mission in 1728. The translation work of old Testament left in complete by Ziegenbalg, was taken up in 1793 by his successor Rev. B. Schultze. A year later in 1724 *the Psalms of David* translated into Tamil by Schultze was printed. The whole bible was printed in 1728. Schultze accomplished the translation with native help. In 1749 Schultze translated Arndt's "*Garden of Paradise*" and had it printed in Halle.

Dr. H. W. Schomerus wrote in German called "*Caiva Sittanta*". He also translated numerous other works into German like the "*Hymns of Manikkavaccakar* "*Periapuranam*" "*Karaikal Ammaiyar*" etc. Subsequently Dr. Arno Lehmann has translated the hymns of Tayumanavar into German. Other Germans who have also contributed to Tamil language and literature were Walther, Beisen Herz and Beythan. Some of these works are taught even today in the German Universities. Frederick Runkhart has also written Tamil grammar and Tamil lexican books. *These Germans together laid the foundations af overseas Tamil pesonality in Germany.*

Tamil In German Universities

In West Berlin, Marburg and Bremen Universities Tamil was taught at certain periods. But in Hamburg, Heidelberg,

Koln Universities Tamil language was taught without a break. However after 1978 at Hamburg University Tamil language teaching efforts began to slacken, In fact Tamil was taught with serious concern only since 1970 in this Hamburg University. Mrs, Anton was mainly responsible for introducing Tamil from the primary level to the study of Tamil lite rature level in this University. She and T. Helman wrote a book titled '*Tamil usage in Mass Media*'. However after she left the Department of Indian studies in 1978Tamil language teaching efforts began to slacken.

Since 1968 Tamil was taught in Koln University Prof-fessor Yannar introduced Tamil language education in this University. However students are not showing enough interest to learn Tamil Hence importance has been given to compile Tamil Bibliography and Dictionary.

In 1962 South Asian centre was established in Heidelberg University. Here there is scope to learn Tamil upto M A. and Ph.D. From the Primary level to learning Tamil litera. ure level Tamil is taught.Grammar, Literature, conversation, Translation are taught after taking into account a student's capability; students learn Tamil language for three years then start doing research. This University also has a good Library. They also have published Tamil books such as *Tirukkural Merkol Villakkam*: (1970). *Tirukural Ilakkanam* (1972). *Tamil Agarathikal*; *Oru noola dakangal* (1978) *Nannool Moolamum Koozhanghai Tambiran Uraiyum* (1980 . It also published the much forgotten German translation work of *Sivagnana Sitthiyar*. Hence Tamil is taught systematically and with serious concern in Heidelberg University.

German-Tamil Dictionary work has been undertaken by Horst Schweia and Dr Rajaram of Tamil University.

Many thousand Tamils including Sri Lankan Tamils have migrated and settled in West Germany. These Tamils are trying to keep alive Tamil language and Tamil Culture. Some have become Christians for the sake of marrying German girls and these have lost their roots with Tamil language and Tamil culture. In Berlin *Muttamil Manram* was established in 1970.

Berlin Tamil Association is celebrating Pongal every year. On this occasion they garland the portrait of Tiruvalluvar, do *pujas* and light *kuttuvillakku*. On Sundays they show films. They also cook Tamil food and try to converse always in Tamil. Tamil journal and London *Murasu* are purchased by these Tamils.

Sri Lankan Tamil Refugees

During the Sri Lankan war-torn crisis situation (especially from July 1983) more than a lakh of families especially in the Jaffna Peninsula got displaced from their homes due to Sri Lankan army atrocities. And it was during this time Sri Lankan Tamil refugees more than 1000 per day in a steady stream fled to Tamilnadu, Australia, West Germany, Holland, Switzerland, U.K, USA, Canada and to all parts of the Globe where there was peace and accommodation.

The influx of Sri Lankan Tamil into the Federal Republic of Germany began to take place in 1983 when during July-August 1983 anti-Tamil and anti-Indian riots thousands of Tamils and other Indians were killed, maimed, separated or rendered homeless. It was under these circumstances that the refugees began to move also towards Europe and Ameica, especially to West Germany. These Tamils did not goto India because they had absolutely no links with India,

the Country was as foreign as any other place. Further since many of them were educated they were hopeful of getting better employment opportunities, better standard of living in developed countries.

The number of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in West Germany as the German radio broadcast indicated were more than 25,000 Even Mr. Chinnadurai, German Tamil Friendship Association Secretary, went to Germany as a refugee. This influx of the Tamils is considered by the Germans as the third post war wave of migration of refugees to Germany, the first of them came from East Germany after the Second World war and the second came in mid '60s mainly the foreign workers known as *Gastarbeiter*.

The Sri Lankan Tamils chose West Germany because the German Constitution relating to the Central Government permits and protects the rights of the foreign refugees to seek political asylum in West Germany. So there is constitutional protection for seeking such an asylum. Secondly it was not difficult to enter Germany through East and West Berlin without proper visa. Especially on the West Berlin borders the Germans were not keeping tight and strict vigilance. There were no West German border security forces there. So the Sri Lankan Tamils entered Germany through Berlin and some of them also through other routes. However since late 1988, it is more difficult to enter through west Berlin because of a west and East German Agreement.

West Germany has a decentralised political system. Each West German State can independently decide whether to take foreign refugees or not. For example, when the Vietnamese Boat people came to Germany only Lower Saxonia accepted them and not other West German States. But it appears that

no West German State has rejectcd Sri Lankan Tamil refugees, who are spread all over West Germany.

In West Germany a refugee after entering the Country has to surrender to the police and ask for political asylum. Immediately the police will register his or her name and direct them to the various camps of the asylum seekers in the Republic, Temporary residence permit for a particular region, accommodation, food. clothes and some financial assistance for the time being will be given to each and every new refugee. At this stage they are not permitted to take any job in Gcrmany. The authorities will investigate whether one is eligible for political asylum or whether one has came to Germany purely for economic reasons. This process of investigation takes its time. Till a decision is finally taken regarding political asylum to be given to an individual, the individal has to remain in the camp alloted with the given facilities mentioned above.

Learn German if you want to manage

During this period language training classes will be provided to help the refugees during their stay in Germany. Living and working in Germany means one should know German language. German is the mother tongue of the people of Germany. Everybody whether Hessions, Hamburgians, Thuringians and so forth know this purer High German (Hochdeutsch) Newspapers, Radio, T.V. and other mass media keep contact with the public through German language. Even foreign movies are dubbed in German. This environment has not created opportunities for the common people in Germany to come into contact with English or any other foreign language in their daily life.

Education through English medium does not exist. In the higher education English is taught only as one of the the subjects. As the entire life in Germany is dependent on

German and since the people can make mark in public life without the knowledge of English, English language education is given importance only to the extent of teaching as a foreign language in Germany. Hence a Tamil refugee is taught German to enable him to adjust and live in Germany.

Even after given political asylum a Tamil refugee may continue to learn German language For foreign School going children a two year prepartory course in German language is given before they are taken into the classes where German students study. A German University conducts "Crash Courses" in German language for foreign students to help these students to follow the study programme in German. In addition these foreign students receive three to five hours instructions in their indigenous language every week from their country men working as teachers in Germany. These teachers teach them not only the language but also history, geography and religion of their mother countries It is the cultural policy of the Government to integrate foreigners as much as possible without cutting off their roots of origin.

Indigenous Language and integration

The Federal Republic of Germany teach the foreigners their indigenous language and culture also because it wants the foreigners to return hom voluntarily without being compelled. Only if the foreigners keep in touch with their own language and culture they would be able carry on in their own mother country after returning from Germany. In recent years more attention has been given to the indigenous language of these foreign minorities. T.V. and radio provide some hours of programme in Turkish, Greek. Italian, Serbocroation, Spanish and portuguese. Newspapers in these language are available now. Even important announcements are made in these languages besides German. The Sri Lankan Tamils are recent entrants. They have not lost contact with

their language and culture. Hence they may not be given special facilities to learn their language and History by the German Government as for example given to foreign guest workers. May be the second or third generation of the Sri Lankan Tamils at a later date would be taught Tamil language and Sri Lankan history as provided in the Consitution.

No society can absorb limitless number of people from completely alien cultures without ultimately putting its identity and stability at risk. This is why the CDU/CSU/FDP Federal Government has adopted new policies towards foreigners. These are based on three fundamentals: (1) integration of workers who have been in the country for a long time is promoted, whereby integration does not mean loss of their identity but co-existence with Germans with as little friction as possible: (2) No more recruitment of foreigners and restriction of entry of dependents of those already in Germany: (3 financial aid for those who wish to return home. At present dicussions are going as for e.g. in Hamburg State about giving voting rights to foreigners who have lived in Germany for a long time in local elections.

No Friction

Barring one or two minor incidents the Sri Lankan Tamils have carried on well in West Germaay. Living together with Germans has not caused any major friction. This is true of all Sri Lankan Tamils who are spread allover the 10 states including Berlin So for no incident has been associated with internal security problem as for as Sri Lankan Tamils are concerned. The reasons for this are not far to seek. More than a majority of Sri Lankan refugees in Germany are educated and cultured. Even in Jaffna they are used to keep their places clean. Moreover Sri Lankan Tamils, like other foreigners are concentrated in Cheaper places compared with

Germans who mostly live in better maintained places with better facilities. Hence the cause of friction is comparatively less. The foreigners tendency is to spend less and save more and to send them to foreign countries.

Eventhough Germans and foreigners try to get along well with each other, living together is not totally free from friction, especially in cities where the foreigners comprise more than 20 per cent of the population. The biggest group the 1.6 million mainly moslem Truks, have the greatest difficulties adjusting to alien life style and culture of their host country. This sometimes generates mistrust and hostility on both sides.

Another problem faced by the SriLankan Tamils is employment. There may not be any friction between the Sri Lankan and the Germans in this field. Mostly foreigners are going for fields of employment where German people do not go. Moreover, generally foreigners are harder hit by unemployment than Germans. Things are especially hard for the "Second generation" foreigners, that is youngsters who have grown up in Germany. They are very disadvantaged at School and in job prospects compared with their German contemporaries and therefore see a bleak future ahead of them. The SriLankan Tamil refugees are likely to mingle with this stream of foreign minorities. Some of them have illegal employment working in restaurants and eating houses as underpaid helpers. But in case of legal employment equal pay for equal work is guaranteed by the Constitution for all including foreign minorities The SriLankan Tamils, though refugees, could be also considered as foreign minorities.

In 1982 the Federal Republic and west Berlin were inhabited by about 61.5 million people, including more than 4.5 million foreigners (half of them lived in Germany for

more than 10 years). Today more than 248 people share one square kilometre of land. Inspite of this the entry of 25,000 SriLankan Tamils may not also create major housing problem At present young couples, families with many children, low-income earners, pensioners, handicapped and foreign workers do not always have accommodation matching their needs and ability to pay On the otherside of the ledger there are in some regions surpluses of expensive dwellings. There are also many cases of old houses which are still habitable standing empty and being left to decay. Recently groups of young people have occupied and are squatting in such empty houses in several cities.

Meaning of the new experience

According to German Radio Broadcast of 7-3-1887 more than 4000 foreigeners mainly Lebanese, Turks and SriLankan enter Germany as refugees every month. By February 1987 only 70 SriLankan Tamils have been given permission to stay and work in Germany. This indicates gradually more and more SriLankans are likely to be given work permit. The SriLankan Tamil influx is also a new experience to the Germans. They never had any experience in dealing with Asian migrants except Turks coming for permanent settlements. Still living now with Asians is giving some new experience. Further the Tamil refugees are different from Turkish or Yugoslavian guest workers. Tamils have not migrated with their families with their females and children. Most of them are young males. Infact they are an isolated lot, scattered throughout West Germany. In case they permanently stay in West Germany, the preservation of their culture, language and traditions would depend on their willingness and opportunity to build up a family, and their willingness to keep up the links with their traditional homeland. We do not know

whether they would be permitted to take their family members to Germany or to marry Tamil girls in future. In case of intermarriage with local German girls, there is a likelihood of this new situation leading to Tamil culture and Tamil language loss. Ofcourse videos, Cassettes, recorders and other modern mass media might keep them to hold on to their heritage if they so desire Or they may be inspired by the Turkish, Spanish and Vietnamese immigrants to copy their style of living. For example some hundred Vietnamese families 'known as boat people' in Germany are living in the German state of Lower Saxonia. They communicate with the German population in German language but at the same time maintain their own language and traditions. Likewise interes in Tamil culture should be created among the German people to build up mutuel understanding, Support for SriLankan Tamils would depend also on how they behave in Germany.

SriLankan Tamils are not only living in West Germany but also in the Netherlands, Beligium, France and Britain. In Britain there are more than 2,500 SriLankan Tamil refugees. In September 1987 the British Government decided to send them back to SriLanka. But British courts opposed this, hence these refugees continue to live in Britain. Most of the refugees are between 20-25 age group. A majority of them are unmarried. Many work in Hotels, Restaurants and petrol bunks. They don't get the wages, which they should get under the law. We do not know how many of them would return back to SriLanka if the situation improves. In 1988 U.N. High commissioner for refugees requested the West European Governments not to send back these refugees to SriLanka.

Russia Tamilnadu (India) Relations: Tamil Studies in Russia

Russia's contact with the Indian states like Tamilnadu began to develop and mature only in the recent modern era. On the basis of the recorded history we infer Romans and the Greeks, known as Yavanas to the ancient Tamils, were the first from Europe to come into close contact with the Tamilians and Tamilnadu However the real rich contact between Europe and Tamilnadu developed only after the downfall of the Cholas, Pandyas and the Vijayanagar Empire. And among these Europeans only the Portuguese, the Dutch, Danes, the English, the French cultivated close contacts with Tamilnadu after the middle ages. And all these Europeans came with materialistic designs to expand their trade and commerce and later to conquer and rule as well as to propagate Christianity.

It appears the Russians were the last among the Europeans to come to Tamilnadu. But they never came with commercial or colonial or even religious motives. They only laid the foundations of cultural contacts by learning Tamil language and culture. Infact after the formation of the Soviet Union. especially after the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Soviet Union concentracted on preserving and protecting Asian Culture including Indian Culture. This is the logical development of Soviet Geography because 75 percent of the territory of USSR was in Asia and roughly 25 percent was in Europe. Hence these Eurasians were more Asians than Europeans and as Asians they wanted to enlarge their area of co-operation among Asians As a result we notice USSR also began to study much more about India including about Tamilnadu.

We notice the first sign of Soviet interest in Tamilnadu was in the 18th century. A dictionary on comparative studies on languages published in Petersburg in 1987-89 dircusses briefly about the four Dravidian languages including Tamil.

Russians interest in Tamilnadu began to blossom with vigour only from the beginning of the twentieth century. From this time onwards a few Russian Scholars began to specialise in Tamil language and culture. For the first time a separate article in Tamil language appeard in a Soviet Encyclopaedia. And this article titled "Tamiliskij. Jazyk" published in Encyclopediceskij Slovraj, 64, St Petersburg, 1901, was written by S.K. Bulich.

Infact only after the famous Russian Revolution, we notice the increasing interest of the Russian Scholars on Indology and Tamilology. Of these the most distinguished Russian Scholars who had worked on Tamil language are E.M. Mervart, M. Andronov, Semyon Rudin, Dr. Alexander Pyatighorsky and Dr. Alexander Dubyanksy.

For the first time, a Tamil grammar in Russian language was published in Leningrad in 1929. Its author was E.M. Mervert a noted linguist. This was the first Tamil grammar book to appear in Russian in USSR *Grammatika TamulJs-kogo Razgovongo* Jazvka. Lenigrad, 1929. Other works of E. M. Mervert are (1) a *Tamil-Russian Dictionary* consisting of 38,000 words and (2) a *Book on Tamil Language Structure.*

Andronov

Prof. M. Andronov, a noted linguist, is famous for his studies of Tamil language. He has written more than 100

Research articles and books on Dravidian Languages. His important books are (1) Dravidiyskiye elementy V. Bengaljskom Yazyke (Dravidian element in Bengali language) M.A. Thesis. The Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, 1954; (2) Kratkij Ocherk grammatiki tamiljskogo jazyka (Appendix to the Tamil-Russian Dictionary, Moskva, 1960; (3) Ocherk Morphologil Glagola V Sovremennom Tamiljskom jazyke (an outline of the Morphology of the verb in Modern (Tamil) Ph.D. dissertation Moscow, 1960; (4) Razgovornyi Tamiljskij Jazyk i ego dialekty (Colloquial Tamil and its dialects), Moscow, (5) Jazyk Kannada, Moscow, 1962; (6) Dravidijskije Jazyki (Dravidian Languages, a Comparative study) Moscow, 1965; (7) The Tamil language, Nauka Publishing House, Moscow, 1965; (8) Grammatika Tamilsjsx kogo Jazyka (A Grammar of Tamil Language) Moscow, Materials for a Bibliography of Dravidian Linguistics, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1966. (9) The Standard Grammar of Modern and Classical Tamil, New Century Book House, Private Ltd, Madras, 19 (10) Two lectures on the Historicity of Languages Families, Annamalai University, 1969; (11) Dravidian language, Nauka Publishing House, Moscow, 1970; (12) Opyt sistematizaeii Panchro nicheskoy grammatiki tamiljskogo Yazyka; V. Sravniteejnom Osveshchenii (A systematization of the Pachchronic Tamil Grammar in Comparative Treatment). A synopsis of the D. Litt. Diss. Moscow, 1970; (13) Dravidiyesoye Yazykoznarii Ye: Sovremennoye Sostayaniye i Perspktivy (Dravidian Linguistics: The President state and perspective Indian languages: Moscow, 1971. He has also contributed research papers in Many books edited by others as for example in Eastman and Schiffman, (2) S. Agesthialingom and S.V. Shanmugam, and (3) in the First conference on Indian studies, Moscow, 1970. He has also contributed research article in leading research journals like Tamil Culture, Madras Jazyki Indii Archiv

orientalni, Praha, Indo-Iranian journal S. Govenhage, Indian Linguistics, Poona, Journal of Tamil Studies, Madras, Soviet Studies of India, New Delhi, Boljshaya Sovetskaya Encik-Lopedia, Moscow, International journal of Dravidian Linguistics, Trivandrum, etc His book on A standard grammar of Modern and Classical Tamil in English won the award of Government of Tamilnadu.

Another famous writter is Dr. (Mrs)Svetlana Trubnikova. She has written a Text Book of the Tamil language parts 1-4 (in Russian) 1969, and also on the History of contemporary Tamil Literature. Vladmior - Makarenko, Lecturer in the Institute of Asian and African countries. Moscow and Victory (Vitaly) Furnika, translator with the "Raduga" publishing House in Moscow, have written research articles relating to Tamil literature.

Alexander Dubyansky

Dr.Alexander Dubyansky, a noted Russion Indologist, is a specialist of Tamil literature, Culture, and language, and a tutor for Tamil language students in the Institute of Asian and African countries attached to the Moscow State University. He is also Professor, research worker of the same institute who is at present studying Sangam literature. He has translated into Russian Old Tamil Poetry and has published it with the title Palmleaf verses. He is the first Russian writer to introduce *'Mullaipattu'* in the Soviet Union. He regularly writes articles for the Russion Magazines and journals about the culture and cultural traditions of the Tamil people. Often his articles appear in the magazine 'Asia and Africa today' which is widely available in India. The latest series of articles are about the traditions connected with the cult of Lord Muruga. He wrote a book titled "Tamil literature"

which at the moment is being translated from Russian into Tamil. He has not only contributed richly to Tamil language and literature. His main area of interest is the Sangam period of Tamil Literature and he has written a Ph.D. thesis on this subject. At the momement he is about to conclude a book based on this Ph.D. thesis. Infact he is the principle Scholar of the Tamil culture and literature in Russia at the moment.

Tirukkural and Russians

Relating to translation of Tamil literature into foreign languages, Russia, it could be said, occupies the first place. The famous *Tirukkural* has been translated into Russian language thrice and published. It was translated into Russian poetry form and was published in 1974. As in the original, each verse of the Kural has been translated into two lines only in Russian language also. Inraghimov also has translated *Tirukkural* into Russian and has also maintained the two lines format of each verse.

We know from the book of Shiftman, Leo Tolstoy and East that he was attracted by the great Tamil epic 'Thirukkural'.

On December. 14th 1908, Leo Tolstoy wrote his famous 'A letter to a Hindu' in reply to one from the Editor of "Free Hindustan". This letter has created so much stir in that epoch that Gandhi sought the permission of Tolstoy to publish prompty' an authorised English (and the Gujarati) translation of the same. Mahatma Gandhi who published the English and Gujarati version wrote in the introduction 'To me as a humber follower of that great teacher whom I have long looked upon as one of my guides, it is matter of honour to be connected with the publication. In this import-

ant monograph, Tolstoy had given six couplets from *Tiruk-kural* and quotation from '*Hindu Kuarl*'. Following are the *Kurals:*

The aim of the sinless one consists in acting without causing sorrow to others although he could attain great power by ignoring their feeling.

The aim of the sinless one lies in not doing evil unto those who have done evil unto him.

If a man causes suffering even to those who hate him without any reason he will ultimately have grief not to be Overcome.

The punishment of evil does consist in making them feel ashamed of themselves by doing them a great kindness

Of what use is the superior knowledge in the one, if he does not endeavour to relieve his neighbour's want as much as his own.

If, in the morning a man wishes to do evil unto another in the evening evil will return to him.

Naturally Tolstoy took great sympathy with Indian people and had wide correspondance with many Indians. One of the first to write a letter to Tolstoy was Mr. Ramaseshan., publisher of ARYAN from Madras. Tolstoy sent his reply on 25th July 1901 explaining his opinion on the national liberation movement struggle of the Indian people. This letter published in the August issue of ARYAN created a great sensation at that time Mr. Gopal Chetty, publisher of NEW REFORMER had done a lot to popula-

rise Tolstoy in the South and his book "Count Leo Tolstoy his life and teachings" published in 1909 is one of the first books published on Tolstoy in India.

Alexander Pyatighorsky

Dr. Alexander Pyatighorsky is also a noted Russian linguist who studied ancient Tamil language. He compiled a Tamil-Russian Dictionary with the review of Tamil grammar. This is the only Tamil-Russian Dictionary in existence. He is known for his prodigious memory. He has also written a book relating to philosophy in Tamil Literature. In this work he has explained the prevalent Pilosophic tradition from the Sangam period to Vallalar period, and he has also ably supported this viewpoint by quoting Tamil poems and other Tamil literary works.

Semyon Rudin

One of the most unforgettable Russion Tamilologist is Semyon Rudin from Leningrad State University, who died about ten years ago. He was one of the important Russian scholar who was responsible for the spread of Tamil language studies in the former Soviet Union. Some of the present day Russian Tamilologists are his students. He used to speak Tamil fluently and was a good conversationalist in the Tamil language. His Tamil pen name was "Chembian". He has written several research papers and has also translated into Russian Tamil short stories. His most famous book is *The Morphological structure of Tamil*, Moscow, 1972. His other books are *(1) O narechijax sovremnogo literaturhogy tamiljskogo jiayka Leningrad and 2) Sluzhhebuye Slova Sovremmennogo literaturnogo tamiljskogo jazyka grammaticheskie rozyady, Leningrad*, 1966. He has also written about grammatical classes of words in modern literary tamil. In short, Rudin's loss is an irreparable loss to the Tamil speaking world.

Modern Tamil Literature and other Russians

Modern Tamil writers works have also been translated into Russian language by Russian Tamilologists. Smirnova (Mrs) has translated Bharati's songs. Inraghimov has translated into Russian Kalki's '*Alai Osai*', the works of T. Janakiraman, Ka. Alagiriswamy, Chidambara Raghunathan, Jayakantan and others. Vitaly Furnika has published a short story collections of Jayakantan He also writes about Tamil festivals in the Russian journals.

Not only translation but also extensive research is carried on modern writers works.. Liubabiknov has done research on Pudamaipittan's works Pisygy also has done research on Pudumaipittan's short stories, Makenrenko has done research on Pudumaipittan, Jayakantan and Lakshmi. Vitaly Furnika also has done research on Jayakantan.

Y.Y. Glazov has written many research articles and the famous book contributed by this writer in Russian is *Morphological analysis of classical Tamil*, Moscow, 1962. Hence the Russian Tamilologists are doing research in ancient and modern Tamil literature and Tamil grammar,

Svetlana Trubnikova (Mrs) and Mrs Alla Rogovtseva are teaching Tamil to Russian students. Alla Rogovtseva was formerly a lecturer in the Institute of Asian and African countries in Tamil language and literature Now she is an officer in the 'Progress' publishing house.

Dailt, the Moscow Radio, conducts its programmes in the Tamil language in the afternoon transmissions in short waves 31. 25 meterbands. The Tamilian who is associated with Tamil language broadcasts is Manivarman from Nagar-

koil. Tatchiayna, who speacks Tamil fluently, and who studied in Leningrad University and under Rudin is also associated with Moscow Radio.

Russia Tamilnadu relations - Tamil studies in Russia

The USSR consulate general in Madras through its Cultural Department was promoting the development of cultural relations between the USSR and Tamilnadu by means of various cultural exchanges in different fields. This is being continued by the Russian Consulate, Madras.

The important aspect of the cultural exchanges is the exchange of artists and students.

With the help of the Festival of the USSR in India and Festival of India in the USSR many Soviet and Indian artists had an opportunity to visit the two countries.

Outstanding Indian artists, like Dr. Padma Subramaniam Subbulakshmi, Violonist Subramanicam toured the former USSR and introduced South Indian Culture to the former Soviet People.

There is good exchange of contacts in the sphere of Cinema. In 1988 during the Tashkent International Film Festival a good number of Tamil feature films were shown to the Soviet public, and films "*Veedu*" and "*Pushpak*" became very popular, along with the actor Kamal Hasan, whose popularity is on the rise in the former soviet Union these days.

The Russion culture is being introduced to the Tamil people by means of kind of activity as arranging the touring of the best Russion artists in Tamilnadu. The Tamil people had an opportunity of getting aquainted with dance

groups "Lezghinka", "Beriozka", Soviet pop-artists, Soviet circus. Soviet Ballet and others. There is a school of Russian Classic Ballet named after the great Russian ballet dancer Galins .Ulanova, attached to the former Soviet Cultural Centre in Madras. And there is a School of Chess attached to the former Soviet Cultural Centre in Madras, which is named after an outstanding Soviet Chess Player Mikhail Thal. The only Indian Grandmaster Vishwanath Anand hails from that school.

The Consulate General of the USSR in Madras through its Films Division was arranging the Film Van Y Tours around Tamilnadu under the requests of the local organisations. During these Film Van Tours a good deal of different films about the Soviet Union, its life and culture, history and traditions were shown to the public The latest Film Van Tour has been performed under the request of Bharathi Progressive Youth Association, Ettaiyapuram, attached to the Tamilnadu Kalai Ilakkia Perumandrum, Madras, to celebrate the Birthday Anniversary of Mahakavi Bharathi. The films also could be sent free of charge to those organisations which are interested in them.

An organisation—The Indo Russian cultural Society-of Tamilnadu makes great contribution towards development of cultural contacts between Russia and Tamilnadu.

Besides that there is an exchange of Russian and Indian students and scholars. Regularly, every year a number of Tamil students go for higher studies to Russia. From time to time Russia scholars come down to Tamilnadu for exchange of ideas in the field of science with their Indian collegues. In February, 1989, there was an important Indo-Soviet scientific conference in Moscow, well attended by the Soviet and Indian historians, economists and Sociologists.

Now, when the scientific contacts between Russia and India became regular, there is a good opportunity to develop-direct University - to University contacts, for example, between the Institute of Asian and African countries attached to the Moscow State University, and Tamil University in Thanjavur. This would be to the benefit of both the sides.

At present Tamil is taught in Leningrad University, Institute of Asian-African countries. Moscow, Institute of Oriental studies and in the Institute of International studies. Moscow.

The number of Tamils who live in the Soviet Union are not many; a few Indians including Tamils are married to Russian citizens and are living in Russia. For the first time ever Ramnavami was celebrated in Moscow on April 3,1990. The Vice President of the Soviet-India Friendship society Gennedy Pechnikov said Ramayana should be popularised in the former Soviet Union.

In this context, it must be clarified, that the average Russian cititizen views India as a single national unit and of which Tamilnadu is an important part. To them all Indians whether Tamil or Telugu or Malayalee or Marathi or Bengalee or Assamese or Hindustanis all are same. They don't always make a distinction between a South Indian and a North Indian. Hence to the Russian people Tamil Culture is an integral part of Indian Culture-a branch of the same Tree. Inspite of this approach, still, we can't help stating that Russia is concentrating on studying more about Hindi language and North India than about South Indian language and South Indian Culture. Still Russia is keen on understanding and improving its knowledge about and relations with South India. For example in March-April 1989 a team of Soviet scholars including from Institute of oriental studies

Moscow visited a few South Indian Universities including Tamil University, Thanjavur. And it must be also stated that Russia is concentrating on the study of Indian language and culture not only from the ideological point of view but from the view point of developing close and healthy cultural co-operation. And the history of Indo-Russian relations, since the ancient period, only confirm this aspect of the foreign policy philosophy of Russia. The recent scholarly contributions of the Russia scholars to Indological studies also reveal how this foreign policy philosophy of Russia is translated into action in the field of Education. Through such scholarly work Russia has revealed to the Russian Citizens and other peoples of the world the significant contributions made by the Tamils and the other Indians to world culture.

I express my thanks to Dr. Alexed V. Solodov, Attache Head of the Films Division, USSR Consulate General in Madras, also for helping me in writing this Chapter.

Italy

Italy, popularly known as Roman Empire during the early periods of history, is about 1, 16, 313 square miles. Its capital is Rome.

Roman Coins in Tamil Nadu:

It is believed that Tamilaham had contacts with Rome since the ancient period. And we have the evidence of Roman coins found in ancient Tamilnadu. The Sangam literature itself conveys the impression that barter constituted the common made of transactions. However it does occasionally refer to such terms as *kasu, pon,* and *Kanam*, which in the sense of coins occur exceedingly regularly in the records of the early medieval period Reference to *ven pon* which may refer to some form of silver currency, if the assumed static meanings of *kasu, pon* and *kanam* are taken ot represent other forms of currency of the period is comparatively rare. The complete absence of indigenous currency which can corresepond to these terms is intriguing. In the early centuries of the christian era, the integration of imported Roman coins in the currency system of this area is a possibility but the Roman series, again does not explain the denominational relationship between the *Kasu* and *Kanam*, if that relationship is believed to have remained identical with that of the later period. (N. Subramanian, *Sangam polity)*.

Bulk of The Coins Minted in the First Century

As the published inventories of the Roman coins in South India reveal and as has been pointed out by a number of writers, the bulk of the Roman gold and Silver coins imported into the South were minted in the first century. The finds of coins relating to the third century and after are extremely sporadic. although not altogether absent, and they continue to the beginning of the sixth century. The im-

pression that Raman coins of the third century and of a later period did not come in large numbers is conveyed by the fact that all relevant finds are represented by only a few specimens and in the majority of cases by single rulers. A study of these finds reveals that the coins of Septimus Serverus (193-211) Geta (209–212) and Caracalla (198-219) have been found also in Andhra and Maharashtra, but the coins from Diocletian (284-304) onwards are found mostly in the Tamil nadu and Kerala. Secondly, no silver coin of this period is known to have been found.

Used To Buy Exportable Commodities:

One may start with the assumption that in the South Indian situation of the first century and of a later period as well, coins of gold and silver were more items of value than regular and universal exchange media. The explicit reference in the indigenous literary texts such as that *Silappadikaram* definitely shows that the major part of the Roman gold currency was brought to India to purchase exportable commodities which the merchants were unable to get by exchanging imperial products in bulk. This is also suggested by the Statements of such writers as Pliny. Silver was perhaps considered essential for smaller exchange. According to Warmington. "besides this natural condition of wholesale trade there was a deliberae exportation of Roman money to India to create a Roman currency there." Neither at the time nor for several centuries more did South India, perhaps with the exclusion of the Maharastra region, have any commercial coinage of its own.

In the absence of South Indian gold coinage comparable to the north Indian currency which started in the first century, it may be presumed that they were used as valuable-

currency reserves and profitable capital deposits, and spared the ruling authorities the trouble of evolving and universalising a currency of high value. The profitable prospect of currency exchanges in such a situation could not have escaped the foreign traders who brought this high-value currency with them. According to the Periplus such exchanges between the Western and Indian traders did actually take place at Barygaza and as can be expected they were to the advantage of Western traders. This situation may help explain the sporadic inflow of Roman gold coins in our period, mostly in Madura and Travancore area. The reduction in the quantity of coins brought in this period may be related to the severe restrictions imposed by imperial authorities and it may have led to a diminution of the volume of trade. The entire phenomenon may have been a result also due to official restrictions in the empire of "an increasing substitution of more consumable imports for bullion" as Wheeler puts it. But it must have been profitable to bring as much Roman money as possible into certain areas of Tamilnadu and Kerala. These were not necessarily brought by the Romans. and the people responsible, as suggested by Warmington. may rather have been the middlemen-the Abyssinians, Arabians and Persians. The Roman coin with the Persian legend *Karkh* cited by Hayavadana Rao may be referred to this level of importation. The continuity of this inflow till a late, generally in the extreme south of the Peninsula, may therefore suggest that besides the existence of an exchange necessity, it was still a viable economic proposition to bring this type of currency into India.

Places Where These Coins were Found

The hypothesis that the Roman coins brought to South India were either 'melted for making ornaments or were

hoarded as gold and silver bullion" does not again explain the staggeringly high quantity of Roman copper coins which are reported to occur in large areas of Tamilnadu and specially around Madura Unfortunately no proper inventory of these coins is available Presumably the first writer to mention them was Elliot who referred to the great numbers of Roman coins occuring with Chinese and Arabian pieces along the Coromandel Coast. The Roman specimens are chiefly oboli, much effaced, but among them I have found epigraphs of Valentinian, Theodosius and Eudocia'. Elliot makes further reference to 'a class of thin copper die-struck coins' found 'along the Coromondel Coast from Nellore as far South as Cuddalore and Pondicherry' 'together with Roman Oboli; perforated Chinese coins; bits of lead and other metals, heads, fragments of Charcoal etc". (Elliot: 1970: 35) Reference to a large number of Roman Copper coin of which some were of Honorius and Arcadius, found in the bed of the river Vaigai, "as well as a Chinese coin from the same place" has been made by Sewell. A host of other writers refer to the concentration of Roman copper coins in the Madura area and suggest the possibility that a class among them was manufactured locally presumably to serve the needs of a Roman colony stationed there. There are indications of the circulation of Roman or Indo Roman bronze coins between the last half of the fourth century and the first half of the fourth century broadly speaking the situation may have been similar in the extreme South of the Peninsula. While in the extreme South imported Roman currency obviously supplemented the inadequate local currency supply, familiarity with Roman currency throughout the broad expanse of South India is reflected in the imitation coins and ornaments modelled on Roman coins. Although relevant stratigraphic evidence can only ascertain the circulation his-

tory of Roman coins in the South, one may for the present be tempted to assume that it left a dependable currency reserve which was drawn on till a late date. (Chattopadhyaya: 1977: 112 117; Wheeller: 1954: Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, Trichinopoly, 1933).

Literary Evidence : Sangam Classics

We find references to Romans in *Silapadikaram*, *Pattupattu*, and *Padirruppattu*. They inform us that foreigners ie. *Yavanas* (Romans and Greeks) were numerous in the Ports on the sea coast like Tondi, Musiri and Puhar (Kaveri-pattinam) which they visited for trade. Although unable to speak Tamil they were employed as palace guards in Madura and on police duty in the streets. Curiously wrought lamps and wine in bottles figure prominently among the articles of trade brought to India by the Yavanas (Nilakanta Sastri *A History of South* India, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1976, 131) Tamil poets descripe Roman ships which carried a guard of archers to ward off pirates while the Tamil Kings themselves employed bodyguard of Roman soldiers.

The *Yavanas* sailed their large ships to Musiri (Cragan-ore) bearing gold and returned ladden with peper and the rare products of the sea and mountain'' which the Chera King gave. (Ibid 139).

Classical Writers : Periplus

The author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (C.A.D. 75) gives the most valuable information about this trade between India and the Roman empire. He mentions the Ports of Naura (Cannanore), Tyndis-the Tondi of the Sangam poems, identified with Ponnani and Muziris (Musiri, Crangan-

ore) and Nelcynda very near Kottayam as of leading imporance on the West coast. Muziris abounded in ships sent there with Cargoes from Arabia and by the Greeks. Nelcynda was a part of the Pandyan Kingdom. Bacare (Porakad) was another Port on the same coast. On the nature of the trade the words of the author are worth citing 'They send large ships to these market towns on account of the great quantity and bulk of pepper and malabathrum (to be had there). There are imported here, in the first place, a great quantity of coins: topaz thin clothing, not much :figured linens antimony coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead: wine, not so much but as much as at Barygaza: realgar and orpiment, and wheat enough for the sailors, for this is not dealt in by the merchants there. There is exported pepper, which is produced in quantity in only one region near these markets, a district called Cottonara. Besides this there exported large quantities of fine pearls, Ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges malabathrum from the places in the interior, transparent stones of all kinds (principally beryls of the Coimbatore district for which there was a constant demand in Rome , diamonds and sapphires, and tortoise- shell. that from Chryse Island and that taken among the Islands along the coast of Damirica". This trade increased in volume after Hippalus, an Egyptian pilot showed the possibility of large ships sailing with the monsoon straight across the ocean instead of small vessels hugging the coast and exposing themselves to many risks, Other Ports of South India mentioned by the author in order are Balita (Varkalai), a village by the shore with a fine harbour: Comari. a fine harbour and a sacred place of pilgrimage, Colchi (Korkai) where were the pearl fisheries of the Pandyan Kingdom worked by condemned criminals, Camara (Kaveripattinam). Poduca (Pondicherry, Arikamedu), and Sopatma Markanam . There were three types of craft used on the east coast: ships of the country coasting

along the shore: other large vessels made of single logs bound together, called *Sangara*, and those which made the voyage to Chryse and to the Ganges which were called *Colandia* and were very large. He mentions Argaru (Uraiyur) as the place to which were sent all the pearls gathered on the cost and from which were exported muslins called Argaritic About the ports on the east coast, he adds. "there are imported into these places every thing made in Damirica and the greatest part of what is brought at any time from Egypt comes here "(Ibid. 139-140).

Padirruppattu:

Sangam classics iike *Padirruppattu* mention that Imayavaramban established the reputation of Tamilaham by inscribing the bow emblem of the Cheras on the Himalayan rock front: he defeated the Aryans, captured the *Yavanas* in battles. poured oil on their heads. locked their hands behind their backs and took them to his capital. He obtained valuable jewelled ornaments and diamonds as ransom for their release and distributed the Warbooty among his followers P N. Chopra etc., *History of South India*, Vol.1, 42)

Determinants of Sangam age

Noticing the striking correspondence between the evidence of the Sangam poem, on the trade and other relations of the Tamil states with the *Yavanas* in this period and that of the classical writers on this same subject, particularly Strabo, the anonymous auther of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, Pliny and Ptolemy, Historians conclude that beyond a shadow of doubt that this stratum of Tamil literature must have belonged to the age of classical writers mentioned above. Further archaeology confirms the evidence of literature. The

numerous discoveries throughout South India of gold and silver coins of the Roman Emperors of the first two centuries A.D. and the evidence recently unearthed of the presence of a Roman factory at Arikamedu (Aruhan Medu. Jaina Mound) in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry in the first century go far to confirm the correctness of the date suggested for the Sangam age (Nilakantasastri, op.cit. 117-118).

Active Commerce Evidence:

The large quantities of gold and silver coins struck by all the Roman emperors down to Nero (A.D.54-68) found in the interior of the Tamil country land testify to the extent of the trade, the presence of Roman settlers in the Tamil country and the periods of the rise, Zenith and decay of this active commerce. Its beginning may be traced to the reign of Agustus; if not to an earlier time, as a phenomanally large number bearing his stamp (and that of Tiberius) have been found. It appears the Tamil Kingdom sent envoys to Augustus to congradulate him when he became head of the Roman world. It appears Augustus prepared a Map with which Rome had trade contacts in which we find the name Tuticorin named as Solcium Indorum. Ptolemy called Tuticorin as Soci guri (Victor), During Augustus reign. despite embassies from the Pandya ruler: this commerce was by no means extentive or economically important. Soon, however, it assumed new and unexpected proportions and ceased to be a mere trade in luxuries. After the death of Nero, the trafic was not so much confined to the Tamil land as before but spread more evenly along the Indian coast and was conducted by barter rather than with money-the Emperors subsequent to Nero not being so well represented in the coin finds. Towards the end of the second century A.D. the direct trade between the Egyptian Greeks of the Roman empire and India declined, the traffic passing into the hands of the Arabians and still

more, the Auxumites of East Africa. A new era commenced with the rise of Constantinople in the fourth century A.D. Roman coins reappeared in South India and embassies were received by Constantine from the people of Maldives and Ceylon among others.

Marcopolo

It appears Italians were also visiting Tamilnadu during later periods. Of these the most important is Marcopolo Nicolo De Konti (1395-1462). His travellogues contain references about Tamilnadu. Marco Polo's journey *to the* East was the beginning of the direct contact between the Far East and Europe - with the exception of the Roman embassy of the time of Marcus Aurellius. He left China in 1292 and his voyage to Persia through the Indian seas lasted about a year and a half. He was only passing through some parts of South India on his way to Persia." After some stay at Ceylon, *he sailed to Maabar which however must not be confounded with Malabar but is the coast of coromandel*. He notices its fine cottons, also its various superstitions as the worship of the cow, the abstinence from animal food, the courtezans dedicated to the service of the temple, and the acts of voluntary self sacrifice to their Gods as well as the custom of females burning themselves after the death of their husbands, (Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, pp.li-lii)

Marcopolo's Views on Tamilnadu

Marco Polo says: "At this end of the Province reigns one of those five Royal brothers, who is a crowned King and his name *Sonder Bandi Devar*. In his kingdom they find very fine and great pearls... It is a fact the king goes as bare as the rest, only round his loins he has a piece of fine cloth and round his neck he has a necklace entirely of precious

stones rubies, sapphires, emeralds and the like, inso much that this collar is of great value He wears also hanging in front of his chest from the neck downwards, a fine silk thread strung with 104 large pearls and rubies of great price. The reason why he wears this cord with the 104 great pearls and rubies is (according to what they tell) that everyday morning and evening he has to say 104 prayers to his idole such is their religion and custom (The Prayer that they say daily consists of three words Pacauta! Pacauta! Pacauta! And this they repeat 104 times)........."

"Here are no horses bred and thus a great part of the wealth of the country is wasted in purchasing horses......the merchants of Kis and Hormes, Dofar and Soer and Aden collect great number of destriers and other horses and these they bring to the territories of this king ...."

Tamil Customs

"They have in this country the custom which I am going to relate. When man is doomed to die for any crime, he may declare that he will put himself to death in honour of such or such an idol, and the government then grants him permission to do so. His kinsfolk and friends then set him upon a Cart and provide him with twelve knives and proceed to conduct him all about the city proclaming aloud. "This valiant man is going to slay himself for the love of such an idol" And when they come to the place of execution he takes a knife and sticks it through his arm and cries: "I slay myself for the love of such god". Then he takes another knife and sticks it through his other arms and takes a third knife and runs it into his belly and so on until he kills himself outright. And when he is dead. his kinsfolk take the body and burn it with joyful celebration. Many of the women also. when their husbands die and are placed on the pile to be burnt, do burn themselves along with the bodies. And such women as do this have great praise from all" ..

"And let me tell you, the people of this country have a custom of rubbing their houses all over with cow-dung. Moreover all of them great or small, King and Barons included do sit upon the ground only and the reason they give is that this is the most honourable way to sit because we all spring from the Earth and to the Earth we must return. so one can pay the Earth too much honour, and no one ought to despise it .. ".

"No wheat grows in this Province, but rice only....'.

"The people of the country go to battle all naked, with only a lance and a shield: and they are most wretched soldiers. They will kill neither beast nor bird, nor anything that hath life; and for such animal food as they eat they make the Saracens, or others who are not of their own religion, play the butcher".

Personal Habits

"It is their practice that every one, male and female do wash the whole body twice every day; and those who do not wash are looked on much as we look on the Patarins (*A term* applied to the 'heretics' other wise called 'Cathari'-Yule,i. 321). (You must know also that in eating they use the right hand only and would on no account touch their food with the left hand. All cleanly and becoming uses are ministered to by the right hand, whilst the left is reserved for uncleanly and the disagreeable necessitites, such as cleaning the secret part of the body and the like. So also they drink only from drinking vessels, and every man hath his own nor will any one drink from another's vessel. And when they drink they do not put the vessel to the lips, but hold it aloft and let the drink spout into the mouth. No one would on any account touch the vessel with his mouth nor give a stranger drink with it. But if the stranger have

no vessel of his own they will pour the drink into his hands and he may thus drink from his hands as from a cup ".

Justice

They are very strict in executing justice upon criminals, and as strict in abstaining from wine. Indeed they have made a rule that wine-drinkers and seafaring men are never to be accepted as sureties. For they say that to be a seafaring man is all the same as to be an utter desperado, and that his testimony is good for nothing Howbeit they look on lechery as no sin.

They have the following rule about debts: If a debtor shall have been several times asked by his creditor payment, and shall have put him of from day to day with promises, then if the creditor can once meet the debtor and succeed in drawing a circle round him, the latter must not pass out of his circle until he shall have satisfied the claim, or given security for its discharge. If he in any other case presume to pass the circle he is punished with death as a transgressor against right and justice. And the said Messer Marco, when in this Kingdom on his return home, did himself witness a case of this. It was the King, who owed a foreign merchant a certain sum of money and though the claim had often been presented. he always put it off with promises. Now, one day when the King was riding through the city, the merchant found his opportunity, and drew a circle round both King and horse. The King, on seeing this, halted, and would ride no further; nor did he stir from the spot until the merchant was satisified. And when the bystanders saw this they marvelled greatly, saying that the king was most just King indeed, having this submitted to justice").

Climate

"You must know that the heat here is sometimes as so great that' tis something wonderful. And rain falls only for three months in the year, viz. in June, July and August, Indeed but for the rain that falls in these three months, refreshing the earth and cooling the air, the drought would be to great that no one could exist".

Astrology Omens

"They have many experts in an art which they call Physiognomy by which they discern a man's character and qualiods at once. They also know the import of meeting with any sarticular bird or beast; for such omens are regarded by them more than by any people in the world. Thus if a man a going along the road and hears some one sneeze, if he seems it (say) a good token for himself he goes on, but if therwise he stops a bit, or peradventure turns back altogeher from his journey".

"As soon as a child is born they write down his nativity that is to say the day and hour, the month, and the moon's age. This custom they observe because every single thing hey do is done with reference to astrology, and by advice of diviners skilled in Sorcery and Magic and Geomancy, and such like diabolical, arts and some of them are also acquainted with Astrology".

Boys in Trade

"All parents who have male children, as soon as these have attained the age of 13 dismiss them from their home, and do not allow them further maintenance in the family. For they say that the boys are then of an age to get their living by trade; so off they pack them with some twenty or

four and twenty goats, or at least with money equivalent to that. And these urchins are running about all day from pillar to post, buying and selling. At the time of the pearl-fishery they run to the beach and purchase, from the fishers or to others, five or six pearls, according to their ability, and take these to the merchants, who are keeping indoors for fear of the sun, and say to them "These cost me such a price; now give me what profit you please on them" So the merchant gives somthing over the cost price for their profit. They do in the same way with many other articles, so that they become trained to be very dexterous and keen traders. And every day they take their food to their mothers to be cooked and served, but do not eat a scrap at the expense of their fathers".

Fauna

"In this kingdom and all over India the birds and beasts are entirely different from ours, all but one bird which is exactly like ours' and that is the Quail. But everything else is totally different. For example they have bats, I mean those birds that fly by night and have no feathers of any kind; well their birds of this kind are as big as a goshawk. Their goshawks again are as black as crows, a good deal bigger than ours, and very swift and sure".

"Another strange thing is that they feed their horses with boiled rice and boiled meat and various other kinds of cooked food. That is the reason why all the horses die off".

Devadasis

They have certain abbeys in which are gods and goddesses to whom many young girls are consecreated, their fathers and mothers presenting them to that idol for which they

entertain the greatest devotion. And when the (monks of a convent desire to make a feast to their god they send for all those consecreated damsels and make them sing and dance before the idol with great festivity. They also bring meats to feed their idol withal; that is to say, the damsels prepare dishes of meat and other good things and put the food before the idol, and leave it there a good while, and then the damsels all go to their dancing and singing and festivity for about as long as a great Baron might require to eat his dinner. By that time they say the spirit of the idols has consumed the substance of the food so they remove viands to be eaten by themselves with great jollity. This is performed by these damsels several times every year until they are married".

The reason assigned for summoning the damsels to these feasts is, as the monks say, that the god is vexed and angry with the goddess, and will hold no communication with her, and they say that if peace be not established between them things will go from bad to worse, and they never will bestow their grace and benediction. So they make those girls come in the way described, to dance and sing, all but naked, before the god and the goddess. And those people believe that the god often solaces himself with the society of the goddess".

"The men of this country have their beds made of very light canework, so arranged that, when they have got in and are going to sleep, they are drawn by cords nearly to the ceiling and fixed there for the night. This is done to get out of the way of tarantulas which give terrible bites, as well as of fleas and such vermin and at the same time to get as much air as possible in the great heat which prevails in that region. Not that everybody does this, but only the nobles and great folks, for the others sleeps on the streets".

On St. Thomas at Santhome

The body of Messer St. Thomas the Apostle lies in this Province of Maabar at a certain little town having no great population; it is a place where few traders go, because there is very little merchandise to be got there, and it is a place not very accessible. Both Christians and Saracens, however, greatly frequent it in pilgrimage. For the Saracens also do hold the Saint in great reverence, and say that he was one of their own Saracens and a great prophet, giving him the title of Avarian, which is as much as to say "Holy-Man". The Christians who go thither in pilgrimage take of the earth from the place where the Saint was killed, and give a portion thereof to any one who is sick of a quartan or a tertian fever, and by the power of God and of St. Thomas the sick man is incontinently cured. The eath I should tell you, is red (Foreign Notices of South India From Megasthenes to Mahuan K.A. Nilakandasastri, University of Mardas, 1939, 161-174).

Lays the Foundation of Overseas Tamil Personality in Europe

Marcopolo's account did not reveal about any contact between Tamilnadu and Italy. This indicates that the trade contact that prevailed between Italy and Tamilnadu during the early periods was propably not there during this period. If at all there was any Tamil trade settlement in Italy it must have been only during the early periods, but even this has to be confirmed by future archaeological discoveries in Italy. Even the Italian christian missionaries it appears, began to visit Tamilnadu only from the sixteenth century, And these missionaries must have also sent some Tamil christian to Italy during later periods. However even such a religious contact did not lead to the establishment of Tamil colonies

in Italy. Marcopolo, was one of the pioneers. who introduced Tamilians and Tamilnadu to Europeans and thus laid the foundation of the development of overseas Tamil personality in Europe.

Rev. Robert-De-Nobili (1577-1656)

Nobili, a great Italian Jesuit missionary came to Madurai on November 15,1606. In the caste ridden Indian society the beef eating outcastes in foreign dress were called as *Parankis* by the Tamils Hence Nobili was also called as a *Paranki* and the *Parankis* were considered as bad as the Paraiyars and the Pallas. Nobili wanted to change this psychology of the people.

Adopts Hindu Customs

Nobili called Christianity the true religion (*Sattiya Vetam*) and not the religion of the *Parankis*. He adopted some of the harmless Hindu customs of sitting crosslegged on the floor, gave up eating meat and drinking wine, dressed like an Indian *Sanyasi*, wore the sacred thread, walked with wooden sandals and called himself a "Roman Brahmin" and last but not the least the he spoke to the people in their own language.

This adoption of Indian habits won many Indian friends for Nobili but the greatest opposition to him came from his own sect. Nobili soon commenced to extract from recognised commentaries of the Vedas, a collection of verses and lines best suited to serve as a basic foundation for the domonstration of christian truths. In this he secured the aid of Pandit Sivadarma. This in the beginning led to a mild agitation by other brahmins but after an enquiry and an open argu-

ment they were quiet. This was an extra feather in Nobili's cap. Pandit Sivadarma was converted and given the name "Diodato" and was permitted to retain his *kutumi* or tuft of hair.

Nobili gave a new flavour to Christianity in India. He altered it without surrendering the basic truths, to cater to India needs. He had written a Tamil document nailed to a large tree right in front of his house. In this he called himself a '*Raja Sanyasi*' and proclaimed he was preaching "*Cattiyavetam*". Till his death, inspite of opposition from other Christians he adhered to his Indian *Sanyasi* dress and habits.

Works of Nobili

None of Nobili's works were printed during his life time. Vincent Cronin in his book "A Pearl of India" attributes seven books to Robert de Nobili and about six others he is rather doubtful: They are

1. *Nano Patecam*: Five parts. First and Second part were printed in 1775. The Second edition came out in 1891. The third part was printed at Trichinopoly in 1907. The fourth part called the *Mantira Viyakkyanam* was also printed. The fifth part has not been identified.

2. *Atma Nirunayam* was printed in Madras in 1899.

3. *Annananivaranam* was printed in 1891 at Trichinopoly

4. *Tivviyamantirikai* was printed at Pondichery in 1870. The remaining of the books are still to be found in the Archives, of the Shenbaganur (near Kodaikanal) Library. They are (1) Tucanatikkaram, (2) Punar cenama Atcepam, (3) Nanacancivi.

Father S Rajamankam has in a pamphlet refuted Robert de-Nobili of writing 40 prose books and three poetry books. He is definite about 15 of these.

Most of these books were written to propagate the Christian religion and to spread its influence; incidentally they also pointed out the differences and drawbacks of the native religion. His works are disadvantageously filled with Sanskrit words, outdated words and phrase. Many believe his works reflect the 17th century Tamil of the common folk. They also reveal the christian Tamil of the 17th century.

Nobili. Rev. Rajamanickam says, wrote three peotical works "*On the suffering of our Lord*" *Apology of the True Religion*" and '*Eternal Life*" besides an number of hymns which were lost.

Fr. Aloysius de Bourges was a tireless worker. After many years of study and labour he prepared a huge Dictionary. This Dictionary unfortunately had two defects. The author first mixed up words of common Tamil with those of higher Tamil, and then synonyms were intermingled. The work of immense size but unfortunately learners were unable to differentiate betwixt the common and uncommon words. However remarkable feature of this book was that it enumerated the different variants of words used in colloquial speech Beschi made use of this work but did not follow its blindly on the other hand his selection of words from it was discriminatory and made only after deep and careful analysis.

Robert De Nobili's fellow workers adopted similar methods and the record of their work during the 17th century forms one of the most romantic and heroic chapters in the history of christian mission in India. The special feature of

their work is the example they set at propagating Christianity among the higher castes by learning and scholarship. In that particular way, they may be regarded as the forerunner of the educational mission of modern times. But the only form of educational work that they actually attempted was the circulation of their own compositions on the creed, Lord's prayer and the Ten Commandments written on Palm-leaves.

Developed Tamil Prose

Robert de Nobili also had written books in Tamil. Through his writings he had developed Tamil prose. He has written 40 Tamil prose books and three Tamil verse books. Of these the most noteworthy are *Gnanaupadesa Kandam, Atma Nirnayam, Punarjanma Atshepam Taanathikaram Ajna Nivarnam.* We can see the classic example of Tamil prose style of those days in *Tattuva Kannadu, Gnana Dipikai* and *Ecsunathar Charitram.*

There is one version which says that Tamil books were printed as early as 1577 and 1599. The book called "*Flos Sanctorum*" was held to be printed at Vaippukkottai by a spanish missionary by name Jones Gonsalves. The later book supposed to have been printed is "*Doctrina Christiana*" by Father Anrique Arriquez at Cochin. Another belief is that in the same year 1579 at Ambalakkadu, a Portuguese Tamil vocabulary is suppossed to have been printed.

In 1578 at Punnaikkayal in Tirunelvely District E.Joao -de Faria is believed to have cut the Tamil letters in wooden blocks and printed Tamil books; we are not sure of the list of books printed. There is another version which says Ignatius Aichamani cut Tamil letters and printed books at Ambalakkadu.

Constantius Joseph Beschi (1680-1747)

One of the most popular Italians among the educated Tamils is Beschi popularly known as Veeramamuniver He was well versed in Italian, Latin, French, Greek, Hebrew. Portuguese and Sanskrit. Hindustani he learnt later. From his early years he displayed a remarkable genius to learn and master numerous languages, but his penomenal genius reached its highest water mark in Tamil. He stripped off his European attire and donned the *Kavi (red ochre)* the colour usually worn by Hindu *Sanyasis*. He also adopted a peculiar head dress.

Perhaps Beschi was the first foreign missionary to wield the Tamil language proficiently and to write beautiful verses in it, which have come down to us to this day, stimulating admiration. In 1721, Fr. Nadal wrote to Paris thus". Fr Beschi knows Tamil to perfection and writes beautiful verses; a feat so far accomplished by no other missionary". Beschi even worked as a missionary master of a Tamil school and taught Tamil grammar, prosody and rhetoric. His profound knowledge of Tamil taught him much of Tamil medicine. Despite the misundestanding beween Beschi and the Protestant Lutherans the latter used his grammar book to help them in their study of Tamil. This grammar of *'koduntamil'* was the only book that was printed during Beschi's life.

Beschi and Rhenius compared Tamil language sound system with the sound systems of other languages like Latin, German, Portuguese etc. This comparative study revealed the peculiarities and the different pronounciations which existed. This was of invaluable help to later Scholars.

Kural

The undisputed credit for first revealing to the Europe- an nations by his Latin translation of *Kural* the great and unique language and culture of the Tamils belongs to Beschi. Beschi's knowledge of the *Kural* was profound. In his gra- mmar book of *High Tamil* he quotes this work eighteen times. In his *Tonnul Vilakkam* also we find the *Kural* often cited. In this *'Clavis'* he quotes the *Kural* twelve times.

With a deep knowledge of the *Kural* Beschi rendered it into Latin. He mentions seven commentaries on it. This Latin commentary of Beschi's may be dated 1730. Some of the *Kurals* in this work of Beschi's are merly translated with no commentaries, others are explained in detail with notes. Occasionally illustration from other authors are added. He has translated only two books of the *Kural* ie. the first and the second books. The third book which deals with love he has omitted.

On Tamil Grammar

Among European scholars Fr. Beschi has done the pio- neer work on an eleborate scale in the field of Tamil gram- mar. His "*Aintilakkana Tonnul Vilakkam*" and his grammars written in Latin arrest our attention. He was the first one to devote attention on spoken tamil and wrote the grammar *'Kodum Tamil'*. This is treatise on dialects, written in Latin. Later on it has been rendered into English. In *'Sentamil'* he dealt with the grammar of high tamil. This was also origin- ally written in Latin and then translated into English. "*Cla- vis*" which means key, was also by Beschi and was written in Latin. This was meant for European missionaries, and he omitted the subjective and objective poetry in Tamil. This

topic on matter was treated rather in a twisted way in his *Tonnul Vilakkam* but he has treated it in an extremely concise way in '*Clavis*' since '*Clavis*' way meant for European missionaries who were masters of that art.

Generally our Tamil grammar falls into five division. *Tolkappiam* comprises those into three divisions. *Viracoliam* and *Ilakkana Vilakkam* retained the five divisions. Though in his grammar Fr Beschi adheres to the five divisions, he reduces a thousand odd rules to three hundred and seventy. The rules he has framed are simple, lucid and terse. Grammarians frame rules and the exposition of them has been made by the Commentators Unlike them it is believed that Fr Beschi combines in himself the role of the framer as well as the Commentator.

Caturakadi

The dictionary of High Tamil called *Caturakadi* was written in 1732 by Beschi. All the Dictionaries that Beschi wrote were chiefly intended for the use of foreign missionaries. The Dictonary mentioned above deals only with Tamil, whereas the two others explain words in other languages like Latin, French and Portuguese. Beschi felt his Tamil Dictionary besides benefitting the foreign missionaries should be profitable to the natives also. He explains Tamil words in Tamil and the explanations are in common Tamil, the synonyms and paraphrases are also in ordinary terms.

In 1819 Ellis sponsored the printing of the Second part of this dictionary. This work was scrutinied by Tiruchitrambala Aiyar. It was only in 1824 the entire *Caturakarti* was published by order of Richard Clarke, Director of the College at Madras. This was done under the supervison of

Thantavaraya Mudaliar and Ramachandra Kavirayar. They revised the manuscript and added to each section a supplement In 1835 Rev. J. Smith published the second edition. In this, the supplements were incorporated in their respective divisions In 1860 came the third edition (the public Instruction Press, Madras) under Percival's direction and was helped by Visagaperumal Aiyar and Ponnambala Mudaliar. In 1928 came the 4th edition.

The alphabetical order of arranging words was not unknown to the Tamils and attempts at this arrangement had been made even before Beschi. Besides Beschi was also not the first to use the word *Akarathi* to mean dictionary. Chidambara Revana Siddhar in 1594 A.D. had compiled an *Akarathi - Nikantu*, the first book of reference to use the alphabetical order. Another work entitled *Akarathi Monai-k-kakarathi-y-etukai* by and unknown author may be dated earlier than Beschi's work. Here the author has advanced a little more than Chidambara Revana Siddhar and follows the alphabetical order till the second letter. Nevertheless it was given to Beschi to use first the alphabetical order till the last letter of the word.

Nikantu in Tamil meant dictionaries. *Akarati* in the 16th century meant an alphabetical order. Revana Siddhar called his work *Akarati-Nikantu* and not *akarati* to retain its meaning.

Beschi's *Caturakarati* was unique in another aspect also. Dictionaries like *Tivakaram, Pinkalantai* and *Cultamani* had given different meanings synonyms in verses and frequently the explanation of words was as difficult as the word to be explained Fr Beschi in *Caturakarati* explain words by means of simple common Tamil words which were easily comprehensible.

The Dictionary *Caturakarati* the name signifies is divided into four parts. The Dictionary proper forms the first section and contains words with different meanings, the second part deals the synonyms and the third has a glossary of the subordinate species of the technical and general terms of science and literature. the last division has words which, except for the first syllable rhyme, and hence could be used in poetry. These four divisions are completely exhaustive in their respective treatments. Beschi himself calls his work "*Treasure of the Tamil Language*". His work is a great improvement on the earlier *Nikantus* and it has an immense value.

Beschi has complied a Dictionary to include words of classical Tamil and the ordinary Tamil, while the others more often than not have written Dictionaries only for the classicial works. It is essential to note that his work is an important turning point in Tamil lexicography. His four fold divisions, the alphabetical arrangement, his expressive writting in prose form (unlike his predecessors in this line who wrote verse) and his combination of the spoken and classical languages have been greatly adopted by later workers in this field. All this make us agree with Dr.R.P.Sethu Pillai's. opinion that Beschi was the Father of the Tamil Dictionary.

Beschi is believed to have complied a "Portuguese Latin-Tamil Dictionary" (4.343 words) Tamil Latin Dictionary. A Latin Dictionary of common Tamil, a Tamil French Dictionary, a Latin-Tamil Dictionary and a Tamil-English Dictionary, The latter two have been mentioned in the introduction of the book *Vetiyarolukkam* by Muthuswami Pillai, the biographer of Beschi. These two works are however not available now.

Other Works

Beschi is also a good prose writer and comes after Robert-De-Nobili. Of his nine prose works, seven have been printed, while two are still in manuscript form. *Veta Vilakkam* was written by him to disapprove Lutheran Mission's principles. He has divided his book into eight chapters containing 140 selections. At the end of the book he gives an alphabetical index of the subjects covering nearly fourteen pages. This was probably the first time such an index was included in the Tamil work. The Tamil of the Lutherans he has derided. This Tamil is third rate, Vulagr and base in Beschi's view. He takes an extreme view by saying that out of ignorance they have destroyed Tamil.

The book *Vetiyar olukkam comes* next. It has twenty chapters. The word *vetiyar* is expanded to include all those who preach, not restricting it to brahmins. In G.U. Pope's view this is the best prose work of Beschi and is the best model for the student of Tamil prose. This book was mainly meant for christian preachers.

Lutterinattiyalpu was also Beschi's work. This was in refutation of the Luterana book *Tiruccapaipetakam.* In this he wrote about the origin and nature of the Lutherans. This book is in poetic prose. The next book is *Petaka Maruttal* This was also in reputation of the *Latherna Tiruccapaipetakam* phamplet. The Epistles are stlll in manuscript form it is a letter written by Beschi to the Church of the Land of Tirukkavalur (near Mayavaram about the Protesants. It is common Tamil and overflows with references to the Bible. The other work is *Tiruccapaikku-p potunirupam* also in manuscript form, but incomplete, Addressed to all Catholics. *Tiruccapaik Kanitam* is another prose work still in manuscript form (68 pages).

Viman Carittaram is a booklet of six pages, Printed in 1843. It is a conversation in high Tamil. *Pramartha Kurukat-ai* is an interesting short story. It was meant to be a text book for Catholic students Dr Pope writes, The Adventures of Guru Noodle is a very amusing story in eight chapters, intended to ridicule the native Rabbis whom, however, he did not disdain to imitate pretty closely in many things". This story has been translated into many European and native languages. Vedanayagam Pillai in his *Piratapa Mutaliar Cartttiram* tries to adopt Beschi's story as its model.

The other works of Beschi were chiefly meant to propagate the Catholic ideals and hence they could not be copied by the general Tamil public.

Robert-De-Nobili, Beschi, Ziegenbalg Ellis, Rhenius and Caldwell were those who left their stamp on Tamil poetry. Among foreign scholars, Beschi is the one who has left the boldest stamp on Tamil poetry. Beschi has written *Annai Alunkal Antati, Ataikkalamalar, Ataikkalanayakimel Venkalip pha,* T*irukkavalur Kalampakam, Kittericmmal Ammanai*-all minor works on Christian deities set up in Indian temples.

The best known of Beschi poems is the famous T*empavani*, which eclipses the other poems of his completed before 1729. M.S. Purnalingam Pillai says that the *Tempavani* is equal to the *Civakacintamani*. This work is divided into three books each comprising of twelve chapters. The central hero of this epic is Joseph, the faster father of Jesus Christ.

It is believed that Beschi is also the author of two medical books inTamil (1) *Vaittiya Nacakantam* edited by Polur Narayanaswamy Nadar which contains 100 stanjas in *Venpa* metre and (2 *Rana Vakatam* (1900) which contain 100 verses.

Later Italian Writers

Apart from Beschi later Italian writets too had contributed to Tamil literature and Tamil History. Pauclinus Bartholo mea (1748-1866) had also left his impressions about Tamilnadu. Angelo Dego Fernandes (1840-1913) had written about Tiruvalluvar and also about Malayalam Tamil language Palmleaf manuscripts. Other Italians, who had contributed to the study of Dravidian language were Sirasiyato, Isaiah Asoli, Pahbo Mandikaza Albert Rom Potti, Angelo Maria Pilukalli, Luci Shantha Maria, Alexandro Pasani and Gabriel Esinger Pero Luci. For example Albert Rom Potti had written a Tamil book "*Mozhiyin Totram*" and Alexandro Pasani a Tamil book titled "*Tamilil Parasiga Sorkal*".

Tamil and Italy Today

Tamil has no relevence to modern Italians except as a language of religious motivational pulls and propaganda purposes. Since the modern era is more and era of science and Technology, ideology oriented, religion has gradually receded to a second unimportant place. Inspite of this environmental pulls, religion has its own admirerers. Hence probably a few Tamils live in Vatican and Rome, but Tamil as a language of religious propaganda has no more significance to Pope and his followers, who have world wide following. Tamil has already developed into a successful missionary language thanks to the pioneering efforts of Beschi and other Europeans and hence Tamil has lost its special significance to European christian missionaries including the Italian missionaries. Inspite of these modern develoments Tamilians, especially Tamil Roman catholics have loyalty to Pope and Italyian catholic traditions. Hence when

their religious head pope visited Tamilnadu some years ago they were jubilant and were in ecstasy. Very rarely a Pope visits Tamilnadu and may be because of that the Tamil Christians were jubilant Hence Tamilnadu has close cultural links with Italy and other Western natives, especially because of their Roman catholic and other denominational cultural heritage. For example in Rome in Vatican we find not surprinsingly Tamil language books in their Libraries. A Tamil Portuguese Dictionary of the 17th century is also kept in that Library. Tamil language broadcasts has been the noteworthy feature of the Vatican, the first foreign nation to attempt such a thing with missionary fervour today, which helps the Tamil Roman Catholics all over the world to keep in touch with their brothers and sisters in Italy, who also have loyalty like them to their common religious head namely the Roman pope, the most ancient religious order of the world.

Srilankan Tamil Refugees

These Tamil refugees after the 1983 July riots have visited Itly also in search of stability and peace. However they are unwanted because of local ways of thinking. Neither they fit in with the Italian ways of life style and hence live only for a short time. They are not themselves interested in living permanently in Italy, a catholic conservative Country. Probably the number of Tamils who live in Italy may be less than around 400 or 500 (in 1988).

Other European Countries

Portugal

Only after the establishment of Tamil press in the sixteenth century we get information about foreigners contribution to Tamil language. In 1554 in Lisbon in Portugal a booklet known as Cartilla-Luso Tamil Religion Question-Answer was published. Two years later in 1556 in Goa, in India the Portuguese established a press for the propagation of Christianity through Tamil language. These Tamil letters were at first refined at Kollam. Among the Indian languages Tamil was the first language to receive Roman letters transliteration for printing purposes. A copy of this book is preserved in Pelan Museum, Lisbon.

A year after the establishment of Tamil printing press in Goa in 1557 printing presses were established at Kollam, in Ambalakkdu in Cochin, Punnagaikayal and in Vaippukkottai by Catholic missionaries.

The first book to be printed in India was *Tambiran Vanakkam* in 1557 at Kollam. This 16 page booklet was translated from the Portuguese language to Tamil by Father Anrique Arriquex (1520-1606). He was assisted in this task by Royappar. This was the first book to be printed in Tamil in India. For the sake of this book Fr. Gonasalves Bus refined Tamil words of the printing press with his own hands. And this book is preserved today in Harvard University. He has also written a Tamil grammar book in Portuguese.

Another book known as '*Girisitthiyarin Vanakkam*' was translated from Portuguese to Tamil by Anrique Arriquez. This book which contained 122 pages was printed at Co-

chin. This is preserved in Paris Government Museum. Another book '*Adiyar Varalaru*' was printed in 1586 at Punnagaikayal near Korkai. This book is preserved today in Vatican Library. It has 609 pages, but the first few pages are missing.

Father Anthony de Proenza Adikalar wrote Portuguese Tamil Dictionary. He is reputed to be the author of the first printed Tamil Dictionary. The Jesuit Press at Ambalkat in 1679 printed this Dictionary along with some manuscript books of Robert De Nobili, Bruno and Martin. Printing was still quite new to India. This Dictionary was a Portuguese Tamil one and the women section was printed in movable type and the latter part was engraved in wooden blocks. The Dictionary follows the alphabetical order only for the first letter.

Baltazar de Cosk in 1680 is believed to have written Tamil grammar. Fr. Henrique Henriques S.J. in his many letters to Europe wrote about a vocabulary of Tamil words and terms.

Holland

The Dutch, like the British, did not rule over India for a longtime. Still they too tried to establish their commercial empire in India. During that period they had occasions to live with Tamilians too and hence the Dutch Christian missionaries like the other European christian missionaries, learnt Tamil and a few of them contributed to the development of Tamil grammar and prose and poetry, some of which are preserved in Amsterdam, The Hague and in other parts of the Netherlands even today.

Rev. Philop Balde

The first grammar book of the Tamil language by a foreigner now available is that of Balde, a Dutch missionary; but he himself refers to previous studies on the subject; especially that of the Jesuit Father Caspardaquilar, which unfortunately are all lost to us". He wrote a book about Ceylon. Malabar and the Coromandel which was printed only in 1672 after his death. He learnt portuguese and Tamil with the main intention of reconveting the Portuguese converts to Protestanism. He was quite successful at Jaffna but was not able to make any headway among the Paravar around Tuiticorin, Balde's manuscript is perhaps is the oldest now available, though it is believed "that there are manuscripts of an earlier age in Tibet". Balde's work gives a manuscript transcription. The transcribed passages following the literary usage represent an earlier language and also show the influence of the Roman Catholic Portuguese. We may hence suppose that these passages can be traced to a Tamil version used by the Portuguese long before Balde. The language in Balde's work is rather that of the concluding years of the 16th century.

Baldeaeus (1632-1671) was the first Dutch minister to come into contact with Tamils in Jaffna. John Murdoch says "The first Tamil types seem to have been cut at Amsterdam in 1678 to express the names of some plants in the large work "Horti Indici Malabarici". In SriLanka, the Dutch trading Company established a printing press in Collombo in 1713. The Dutch printed here in 1742 four New Testment Gospels in Tamil. Another Book, was translated into Tamil by Philip Demelo, a Sri Lankan missionary. This book was printed in this press in 1759. While translating this book the author saw to it that he did not oversetp the

limits of Tamil Nannool rules as well as the meaning to the original Greek version: After this, printing presses were established at Madras (1779-1815) Nagarkoeil 1822 andPalayamkottai (1830). After the liting of the ban on printing presses were removed in 1835 Tamil printing presses were established in Tamilnadu, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore, Burma, South Africa, Fiji and Mauritius.

Hence the Dutch had shown interest in the study of Tamil language even in the 18th century. The first Dutch man to study Tamil intensively in the 19th century was Van Der Thnk. His collection of Grammar and texts now at Leiden testifies to this fact. Philip Balde has written a Tamil grammar book in Dutch language, the first grammar of Tamil language by a foreigner now available.

Hence it is not surprising to find Indian Studies Department at Kern Institute and State University of Utrecht in Holland today Students can learn Tamil either as a first language or as a second language or with one of the Dravidian languages or Dravidian language comparative study in the State University of Utrecht today.

Dr. Govindan Kutty and Czech Tamil in Scholar Kamil Zvelebil are teaching Tamil in Holland. Infact Kamil Zvelebil had taught Tamil at Chicago University, Heidelburg University and at College of France.

We also find in the Libraries in Holland Dutch records relating to Tamilnadu collected since the coming of the Dutch into Tamilnadu, a few centuries ago

Sri Lankan Tamil refugees have begun to trickle into the Netherlands since 1983 holocaust. Now (1992) they number

probably around 3500. They are treated well by the Dutch people as reported in foreign press.

Sweeden, Denmark, Switzerland, Spain

Sweden's capital is Stockhom. At Stockhom University we have an Institute of Indology. Here there is scope for Tamil language study as well research relating to Tamil language. At Upsala University in comparative studies, Tamil education is also given a place. Prof. Fessor Steath Sikander, Prof. Karl Kustavdayel, Prof. Sikhfrid Leonedard, Mrs. H.C. Walder have knowledge of Tamil. Sri Lankan Tamil refugees probably numering around 500 have visited Sweden They are well treated even though they are a liens and ignorant of local language and local customs.

In Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, there are Tamil books in the Royal Library. Around 2000 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees seem to have visited Demmark causing Xenophobic reactions. However local habits permit them to adjust and adopt local ways,

There is no scope for Tamil language education in Switzerland. But Prof. Karkeller is proficient in both Tamil and Malayalam. It appears there are around 200 Tamils living in Switzerland, most of them probably are educated Scientists. They are living in Switzerland since their migration to this Country in recent decades. Sri Lankan Tamil refugees too are migrating and settling, may be a few thousand elites. Local enivironment and language ignorance are their major handicaps.

Father Henry Heras (1888-1955) a Spanish has written a lot about Tamil and Dravidians.

Poland

1,20,725 square miles Poland's capital is Warsaw. Since 1972 Tamil language was taught in Warsaw University. Prof. Ramasundaram, at present working in Tamil University, was teaching Tamil in Poland for seven years. This Professor's work is a pioneering effort which has resulted in widening the outlook of the Poles towards India. Keeping in view the Polish students needs, he has prepared and published a book titled "*Tamil vasagam*" During his stay in Poland 16 stude-nts learnt Tamil. And these students, in his view, showed keen interest in learning Tamil. He has translated into Polish language *Tiruvemppavai. Tiruppavai* and Jayakantan's stories. He helpd Bogdan Gembarski to translate *Tirukkural* into Polish language. He inspired his students to translate into Polish *Tiurmurugarrupadai, Tiruvembavai. Palai Paadiya Per-unkadunkovin paadalkal, Pattinappalai and Valivadai Padalam* of Kamba Ramayana and Bharati's *Kannan Pattu.* He has also established a small Tamil Library there. This Library also receives Tamil weekly monthly magazines and research jour-nals. A Polish Tamil teacher has come to improve her know-ledge of Tamil and is now studying in the Department of Tamil studies in Foreign countries, Tamil University, Than-javur.

Czechoslovakia, Finland and Hungary

49,373 square mile Czechoslovakia is near Poland. Its capital is Prague. Since 1959 Tamil is taught in Charles University, Prague. The one who took active interest in Tamil language learning is Dr. Kamil Zvelebil. He has tran-slated into Czech language some Sangam Age *Agapadal Sila-ppadikaram* and some Tamil short stories. He has also written and published three volumes on Tamil literature. In *Archiv orientalni*, a journal published from Prague, many articles

on Tamil language and literature have beed published. In fact Dr. Kamil Zvelebil has pubilshed hundreds of research articles on Tamil language and literature. One of his well known works is *The Smile of Muruga, Tamil literature* Many Tamil poems have been translated by him. He has not only translated Tamil work into Czech language but also in English language. He has written about *Sangakala* literature, Middle ages Tamil literature and Modern Tamil literature. In the Journal of Tamil studies, published by International Institute of Tamil studies, Madras, he had written about *Tolkappiam*. Thus Dr. Kamil Zvelepil has built up Dravidian and Tamil studies as an integral part of oriental studies in Prague.

Dr. Vasak, a Tamil language expert is also working in Charles University. He can speak Tamil fluently. Late Prof Mrs. Thyagarajan has also the distinction of teaching and spreading Tamil language in Czechoslovakia. She has helped in the midst of many difficulties, the translation of many Tamil works in Czech language.

1,30,229 squaremiles Finland is also associated with Tamil language. In the capital Helsinki in the Helsinki University Tamil is also taught in the Indian studies Department. Dr. Panneerselvam taught in this university Tamil for a year. The inspiration to Dravidian Languages studies in this University came from Prof. Benti Aldo and Osko Parpolavu, who did research on Indus Valley script.

Hungary too has shown its interest in Tamil studies. G.S. Palint (1884-1915) a multi-linguist has written Tamil Dravidian studies, which came out in 1897. Dr. Charles Pepri has done depth research on Mahabalipuram sculptures.

Tamil: a Special place in the Unesco

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation chose in 1967 to bring out the Tamil edition of its monthly journal *Courier*.

As of now, the magazine is being brought out in 33 languages and two other Indian languages. Hindi and Bengali share the unique honour with Tamil.

Mr. Manavai Mustafa, who has been associated with the Tamil edition right from the begining initially as the Executive Editor and later as the Managing Director, says it is a matter of pride that Tamil, which was deified as an ancient language, has proved to be amenable to changes to meet the linguistic needs of the modern scientific age.

The *Courier* has helped in enriching the Tamil vocabulary. Since all the articles pubished are translated ones, naturally it is necessary to find suitable Tamil equivalents for the English terms, particularly the scientific words. Thousands of root words available in Tamil serve as a base for coining the new technical terms, says Mr. Mustafa.

The Madras University, which offers a course in Translation for Post-Graduates in Tamil literature has, in fact, prescribed the Tamil *Courier* as a reference book in the syllabus.

The edition had also been instrumental in the UNESCO bringing out a special issue on "India: Yesterday's heritage, Tomorrow's hope" and another on the "Living Culture of the Tamils" in all the language editions of the *Courier*.

An exclusive feature of the Tamil edition is that while in all the other editions, each issue has 52 pages, four add-

itional pages containing articles by experts in Tamilnadu have been allowed to be included.

The *Courier* was launched in 1946 in the first two official languages of the UNESCO,—English and French. The Spanish edition was added next, to meet the demands of the 20 odd Spanish speaking States of Latin America, followed by Russian and then Chinese.

In 1966 Dr Malcolm Adiseshiah, as the then acting Director General of UNESCO, felt the need. for a Tamil edition, as in his own words. "When I helped to organise and run the Third World Tamil Conference in Paris, I saw for myself that this important cultural instrument of solidarity, the *Courier*, was not available to the Tamil speaking people of some 53 countries, who were present then and to that extent were handicapped in building the world of peace and understanding that UNESCO's member-States were committed to. I decided to close the gap".

He then visited India to negotiate with the Tamil Nadu Govermment. But, since the membership in UNESCO was in the name of India and not Tamilnadu, he had to talk to the Central Governmment also. The latter made it a condition that the *Courier* should appear in Hindi as well. For the Hindi edition, a publisher was found in Delhi, while for the Tamil edition, an agreement was made with the Southern Languages Book Trust, with the approval of the Tamilnadu Govermment.

Since then, there has been no looking back. The Tamil edition has been publised regulary every month for the past 25 years and read by the Tamil speaking population in Sri Lanka, Malaysia. Singapore, Thailand, Burma, Fiji, Mauritius, Trinidad and Tobago, Sweden, France, US and the U.K. to name but a few countries where the Tamils have settled over the centuries.

(Source P. Sunderarajan, The *Hindu*.)

Afterword

Agents of Change

Tamils abroad became the agents of change. They transformed the physical landscape and the socio-economic structure of the domiciled host country. They carried with them Tamil culture and hence through them *Tiruppavai*, *Tiruvemppavai*, Ganesa, Agastya, Siva, Korravai, Karaikal Ammaiyar and Tamil sculptural and architectural styles spread to Southeast Asian countries, especially during the pre colonial period. Later after Tamil migration to other parts of Asia, Africa and Caribbean islands, especially during the 19th century, Muruga (Lord Subramanya) and Mariamman became famous in many parts of the world. *Kavadi* worship of Lord Muruga and Fire-walking ceremony to a certain extent, became household words in all these Continents.

Spread the Fame of Tamil Language

Likewise, the immigrant Tamil and the Europeans who studied Tamil language, together spread the fame of Tamil language. As a result Tamil language has received the status of a world language. Tamil newspapers, magazines and Tamil language radio broadcasts and T V. Programmes, and Tamil Video films in foreign countries also countribute to the growth of Tamil language in these distant lands. Tamil literature proliferate, thanks to the contribution of overseas Tamil writers, who also enrich it by mirroring in their writings the milieu of the domiciled host country. Infact Tamil language is also absorbing and developing some of the local characteristics of the different host countries and hence Tamil language is acquiring a multicultural personality.

The story of Tamil migration becomes a sad chapter, especially in the 19th century, because this emigration is associated with poverty and penury. And these Tamil migrants of the 19th century suffered a lot in the domiciled host country also. History has preserved the memory of their exactions, their injustice and cruelty. So many suffered, so many were violated in many ways, and so many died in the plantation "gas-chamber".

Acquired Personality and Position

What strikes us today is, now they have acquired personality and position in the lands of adoption. They are also now doing well in the host countries of their adoption. They are now transformed into confident, selfreliant, respectable and successful communities. They get more than their basic needs and hence adjust effortlessly with domiciled country's many shortcomings. They invariably adopted such occupations which provided them with social position and higher earning. This led to occupational mobility and noticable improvement in the Tamil migrants' status

Developed Plantation

With the help of Tamil, other Asian and African labourers, sugar plantation was developed in Mauritius, West Indies, Pacific islands and other areas. Likewise rubber and tea plantations of South and Southeast Asian countries were also developed by British Companies with the help of these labourers. Tea plantations in SriLanka were developed only with the help of large scale migration of labourers from Tamilnadu. Hence these Tamil migrants helped in the development of new agricultural areas and particularly plantation agriculture.

The historical analysis of the distribution of various crops and fruits shows that many of them are not the native crops of the area where they are produced now They have been brought by migrants from the places of their origin. Tamil migrants along with others were responsible for transporting to different places they travelled crops like coffee, tea and sugarcane, different varieties of peas (particularly to Africa and Pacific islands) gourds like bottle gourds, snake gourds and some other vegetables and hybrid mango (especially to East Africa).

USA Emigrants Applauded

Indian emigrants in the USA have been applauded in several quarters as perhaps the best and belong to a high status and affluent group among all emigrants in the USA. Their contribution to the host country is also substan'ial They have generally made a good name for themselves and for the mother country. Infact on account of the excellence of their material contributions, the host country would be loath to lose some of them or their abilities or services even to their mother country. They acquired financial resources, technical knowledge and a vast experienee. They distinguished themselves and also fulfilled their respective roles in exquisite if not a better from than they would have done if they were in India. They represent a valuable technological and financial reserve for our Country abroad. Asians now dominate permanent migration to the United States, Canada and Australia

Middle East: Uncertain Future

In contrast, the Middle East Countries have gradually ained up their own countrymen in the skilled type of work

done by immigrants including Indians. This incidentally is likely to release many skilled and unskilled emigrants from their Middle East assignments. However under the present circumstances Asians have become increasingly important in flows of contract worker migration to the Middle East and to Countries within the Asia and Pacific region.

Significant Contribution to Public Purse

Charles W. Stahl, while discussing about the costs of labour immigration, observes "that the immigrant population makes a significant contribution to the public purse through tax payments. Moreover, their employment creates added-value well in excess of their wage payments. This added-value in excess of immigrant wages will be paid out to indigenous factors of production in the form of wages, interest, rent, undistributed profit and dividends. These latter income will also be taxed. These additions to tax revenue represent a potential increase in the per capita supply of public goods. Moreover, empirical evidence indicates that the labour-force participation rate of the immigrant population is considerably higher than it is for the indigenous population. This higher employment dependency ratio for immigrants implies fewer demands per immigrant on funds devoted to welfare, social security, unemployment compensation and similar support payments (Charles W. Stahl : 1988: 16).

While discussing about the effects of emigration and return on sending Countries Charles W Stahl says: "The potential benefits a sending Country derives from labour emigration are a) the acquisition of scarce foreign exchange. (b) the relief of unemployment and underemployment, and (c) an increase in national income percapita with pos-

sible consequent increase in the rate of savings, investments and economic development. It is also possible that work experience abroad will impart skills to the migrant which well prove useful to the home country upon return. However the gap between theoretical potentialities and actual outcome can be substantial. So it is that the impact of labour migration in economic development remains a hostly debated issue" (Charless W. Stahl: 1988: 189). For example the Chettiars of South India got such training in foreign countries and started business. However higher learning or professional experience was not a strong point with these emigrants atleast in the earlier days.

Negative Impact on Sending Country

Despite magnitude of flows from the Sub Continent during the second phase, impact on population growth in the region has been negligible nor has the loss of professional skilled workers had a major negative impact on the sending Country's capacity to replace them. Madhava shows that the 232,800 such persons who emigrated from India to different parts of the world upto 1981 represented about 28 percent of workers with similar skills who were unemployed in India in 1981. He suggests that one major impact of their departure was to reduce the pressure of unemployment among educated Indians. Furthermore, the 420,000 labourers, service workers and agiculturists who emigrated (especially to the United Kingdom) represent only a small fraction of the estimated 14 million unemployment labourers and service workers in India. The effect of emigration on India's productivity concluded Madhavan was to ease the pressure of unemployment in certain categories. A more positive impact has been made by the contribution of remittances of over-

seas Indians to the Country's balance of payments In the period prior to the third phase (discussed below) private unrequitted transfers from other Countries totalled $78 million per annum between 1960 and 1964 (representing 5 percent of India's export earnings) $137 million between 1965 and 1969 (8 percent) and $131 million between 1970 and 1974 (5 percent). Being permanent residents, Indian-born workers were normally accompanied by dependents so were more likely to invest their savings in property durables and education than remit large amounts back to India. Such a situation does not describe Indian workers in the Middle East. Even so Roseotal (1969) noted that Indians in the United Kingdom saved, on average, 18 percent of their incomes, one third of which they remitted to India. (Ibid. p. 112)

Further each of the important social groups constituting social structure namely family, caste, class, marriage and religion have been changing in the wake of Tamil migration. We notice this change in the traditional joint family system, which is disintegrating. As a result it has weakened the control of the senior most member and has encouraged the emergence of different heads of small families.

Marriage Practice Changing

Tamil migration has its strong impact on the various aspects of marriage. Rituals of marriage, ageat marriage, selection of pair, caste consideration and organisation of marriage are greatly influenced by migration. The system of marriage is also undergoing changes due to migration. Generally people coming from higher socio-economic strata adopt new methods prevailing in urban areas viz romantic, civil and temple systems If the edueation, occupational status of the selecting mate is satisfactory then some people are even ready to neglect caste, class, horoscopc etc.

Inter-Caste Affinity

Migration has brought changes in inter-caste relations too. The most important of these changes relates to inter-caste commensality. Traditional restriction on untouchability dining and drinking in the caste system has been removed. This change in the commensal habits of the emigrant families is most definitely the outcome of their contact with the new environment of the domiciled Country. Among the foreign countries where Tamils live in large numbers, SriLanka, Malaysia and Singapore may be considered as comparatively less forward relating to these changes than other Countries.

Birth of Class Consciousness

One of the important causes for Tamil migration is the temptation to improve one's economic status. Originally the migrants belong to a different class heirarchy, but due to higher earning they change the heirarchy of class. The income and status differentiation bring about a sort of class consciousness among the migrants A feeling of belongingness exists, atleast to some extent, among the members of a particular class. Because of consciousness migrants are obliged to unite and safeguard their interests. But this fact also causes class conflict. The feeling of class consciousness may be seen on various social occasions and in inter-personal relationship.

Interaction with local people : Mixed Response

People generally interact more with those who they like most or in whom they have confidence or with whom they develop a greater capacity for adjustment. The highly educated people interact more with the local people than the less educated illiterate persons who invariably interact more

freely with their fellow migrants. During the Tamil migration of the 19th century the movement of unskilled labour migration increased illiteracy at the place of destination and decreased at the place of origin. But after many decades the percentage of literacy among these domiciled Tamil migrants has increased considerably. However since India's independence invariably long distance migration involves educated and skilled persons. This raises the level of education at the place of their destination and decreases at the place of origin. Hence compared to the 19th century period, it can be generalised, today as a result of increase in literacy and other accompanying factors, Tamil migrants interact more freely wilh local people in foreign Countries.

Torch of Tradition Kept Alive

Still we can't assert that Indian migrants have closely intermingled with the local population of the domiciled Country. Generally they got married to and only among people of Indian origin except in rare cases. Even the traditional customs and religions and social practies in India were retained by them by and large. Persistent sticking to their traditions and religions gave rise to the construction of Temples and religious centres in these Countries. The recent constructions in the USA of the Hindu Temple in Flushing, New York, the Meenakshi Temple at Houston, the Rama Temple at Chicago, the Venkateswara Temple at Pittsuburgh in USA and near Sydney in Australia and other evidence the trend. Sikh Gurudwaras and Muslim Mosques were also built outside India.

Education and interaction with the people of the place of destination, however, have brought about significant changes in the religious attitude and ritualistic mode of life of the Tamil migrants, in recent years especially in Guyana,

Mauritius, Indonesia and in Malaysia. Still religious superstition has not disappeared from certain sections of the migrants. In addition host society's values including everyday language of the host society also have affected to a limited extent the religious practices of the Tamils abroad especially in Caribbean countries, Reunion, Mauritius, South Africa and even in Indonesia. Inspite of such an impact, the religious practices of the overseas Tamils continue to remain purely Tamil in essence.

Identity Crists

Not only these changes were pronounced but even many overseas Tamils, especially of South Africa, Mauritius, Seychelles, Reunion, Caribbean islands, Indonesia and to some extent of Fiji have almost forgotten their mother tongue Tamil. This is because Tamil is not essential for their everyday life and even for career advancement. Still, since they face identity crisis in the host Country to a limited extent they also in recent years have attempted to revive their interest in learning Tamil language and Tamil culture.

Cosmopolitan Food Habits

Even the food habits of many of these overseas Tamil have undegone considerable change. Due to cultural contact with the food habits of the host Country, as well as due to loss of continuous contact with Tamilnadu, Tamils abroad, especially in South Africa, Mauritius, Reunion, Seychelles, Caribbean islands, Indonesia and Fiji have changed to a certain extent their food habits. Further these food habits differ from one Country to another. Even in Malaysia and Singapore Tamils have cultivated a taste for Chinese and Malaysian food. Especially since in large towns European, Chinese, Indian, Moghal and other dishes are easily availa-

ble, overseas Tamils, especially educated ones have developed to a limited extent cosmopolitan food habits.

Modern Dresses

Even the dress of these Tamils abroad have changed to a noticeable extent. Many Tamil women do not wear sarees eg. South Africa, Mauritius, Reunion, Caribbean islands and Indonesia. Many Tamil men do not wear dhoties. eg. Fiji, Mauritius, Reunion, Caribbean islands, etc. In fact different cultural regions have their own dresses. And the Tamils abroad have been influenced by this contact with the culture of the host Country. Especially educated people and adults have adopted modern dresses. Like food habits, dress habits also differ from one Country to another. Similar significant impact could be also seen in the use and design of ornaments (and hair style also)

Adoption of Host Country as One's Own

Hence it can be stated more than a majority of Tamil migrants, have adopted the host Country as their own. This attitude has developed because they are all to a large extent economically integrated with the host society. In fact the first step in the process of socio-cultural adoptation is obtaining employment, which leads to economic intergration. Eventhough this is a necessary condition for socio-cultural adoptation still it is not alone a sufficient condition. In fact the ease and extent of adaptation depends on the host society's receptivity, government's policy, the ease of entry into the labour market, the degree of occupational (vertical) mobility, the acess to and the immigrants' level of education, facility in the host Country's language, the type of social nettwork the migrants develop, the cultural norms which

parents teach at home, the immigrant's commitment to the host Country, which may be influenced by his everyday experiences etc. His success in the host Society infact depends on ethnicity, colour, age, skills, education, religion, social contacts, drive and personality traits.

Cuitural Diversity and Harmony

Whether this type of experiences of Tamils Abroad have led to assimilation or integration. The end product of a process of migration may be assimilation. This term implies that the group has adpated itself so completely to the host Society and has been so completely accepted that it has merged into the whole and lost its separate identity. Assimilation almost always involves or is preceded by intermarriage and the process may take generations. This type of assimilation of overseas Tamils have not taken place except to a very limited extent possibly in Caribbean Islands. Due to such inter-racial wedlock changes in the physiological traits of some Tamils have taken place. Secondly, as noticed earlier, assimilation has more or less taken place relating to local language learning, food, dress, ornament, habits etc. in South Africa, Mauritius, Seychelles, Reunion, Indonesia and to a limited extent in Fiji.

Hence in the midst of host society's responses towards them, what the Tamils abroad aspire for is not a flattening process of assimilation but for equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance. Only by developing mutual respect for each other's historical background, inter-racial harmony with the spirit of give and take can be promoted. It means an appreciation and respect for cultural heritage of all communities. And keeping in view the assimilation of shared values, as well as by developing close rapport and understanding, a conscious effort could be made by the diverse communities to fuse

some of their elements into a national pattern. In this kind of integration they can preserve their own language as well as retain certain group institutions. Through this kind of integration process, which has already begun in many societies and nations, a new grammar of identity, national consciousness and diversity could be evolved and perfected. Hence the Tamils abroad, in their respective domiciled countries, are moving towards cultural pluralism and tnter-racial harmony. In the contex of the recent trouble in Fiji, Tamils and other Indians miss this environment, which proably may be healed in due course of time. Likewise the Indians in Burma need the host society's friendly tolerance and appreciation for their continued stay in Burma.

In the light of international situation, we can say that overseas Indians do not depend on India totally for their evolution. In fact apart from moral support and occasional visits by Indians officials and personalities, they had to greatly depend upon themselves. Tamils abroad, eventhough depend on Tamilnadu for the recapture of lost Tamil language and culture, still are not able to get adequate response. This also partly due to financial constraints.

Tamils abroad with vision and open mind love their host Country, because of its willingness to have them. Hence they are loyal to their adopted homeland, but not at the cost of eutting themselves off from their old culture. They have enriched Tamil culture by developing ties, friendships and habits in the domiciled host Countries. Hence as a result of this deep rooted historical experiences, today Tamil culture is fed by so many sources and traditions and peoples and above all by an ideology of liberty, tolerance and diversity. Such a tradition would also inherit the experiences of the Tamil migrants of tomorrow especially of the technical and skilled workers, but whose immigration would depend largely on receiving countries immigration policies.

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